

THE GEOGRAPHY OF RESTAURANTS:
A CASE STUDY IN MICHIGAN'S
UPPER PENINSULA

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1978

Submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate College of the
Oklahoma State University
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for
the Degree of
MASTER OF SCIENCE
July, 2000

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am extremely indebted to my major advisor, Dr. Alyson Greiner, for her diligent guidance and supervision. She has been very generous with her time and expertise during the writing and numerous revisions of this thesis. I would also like to express my appreciation for my other committee members, Dr. Allen Finchum, whose GIS advice has been invaluable, and Dr. George O. Carney, whose Cultural Geography Seminar sparked my interest in this research topic. Also, I would like to thank Michael Larson for his assistance on cartographic issues, and Susan Savage and LeAnn Prater for answers to all sorts of questions.

I am grateful to my family for their patience and understanding while I was engrossed in this undertaking. I particularly want to thank my husband, Jerry, who has provided me with unfailing encouragement and support.

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GLOSSARY

Cudighi: (KOO dah ghee) An Italian specialty sandwich, made with an Italian sausage patty, grilled onions and green peppers, mozzarella cheese, and sauce on a submarine bun.

Leipäjuusto: (LAY pae YOOS toa) A Finnish dessert, squeaky cheese topped with cloudberry.

Pannukaukuku: (PAHN noo KAHK koo) Finnish oven-baked pancake.

Pasty: (PASS tee) Cornish meat and vegetables in a pastry crust.

Pâté: (pah TAY) French, meaning pie.

Sauerbraten: (zow er BRAH ten) German beef marinated in spicy vinegar, pot-roasted, served with gingersnap gravy.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background

In the attempt to explain spatial patterns and human-nature interactions, the cultural geographer delineates regions as geographical units. Different research objectives and criteria can be used to delimit these areas. For example, to subjectively designate a region the geographer can use the distribution of common cultural traits, such as ethnicity, religion, language, or even food preferences. As one of the many variables that make up a group's culture, the scholarly scrutiny of food habits and preferences can provide an additional perspective upon which to base interpretations.

The term *foodways* encompasses the range of food habits in a society. According to folklorist Don Yoder (1973), foodways research involves the influence of environment on cuisine, seasonal foods, local crops, and local foods of a cultural landscape. Geographers had conducted very few studies concerning foodways when Wilbur Zelinsky observed in his 1973 book, *The Cultural Geography of the United States*, that food consumption and dietary geography were among the topics lacking geographical exploration. Floyd Henderson reiterates this sentiment in the "Foodways" section of *This Remarkable Continent: An Atlas of United States and Canadian Society Cultures* (Rooney, Zelinsky, and Louder 1982). There has since been a subsequent increase in the geographical

contributions to the cultural aspects of foodways research, as Zelinsky (1992) notes “a promising start” in his updated edition.

While some of these studies have been generalized investigations of large areas (Zelinsky 1985, 1987, Shortridge and Shortridge 1983, 1989), other inquiries address foodways at a more localized scale (Brown 1985, Milbauer 1990). In terms of regional examinations, food patterns in the South appear to be the most widely studied (Vance 1935, Cussler and de Givie 1952, Hilliard 1969a, 1969b, 1972, Kovacik 1988). The spatial distribution of franchises and fast food restaurants has been explored (Roark 1985), and the dynamics surrounding the diner have been analyzed as well (Gutman 1979, Manzo 1990, 1996). Restaurants have been scrutinized in urban areas (Pillsbury 1987), and in rural settings (Milbauer 1990). In addition to geographers, researchers from other academic disciplines have also studied foodways. The use of food as a regional symbol has been the topic of anthropological/folklorist studies (Yoder 1972, Guitierrez 1984, 1992, Lockwood and Lockwood 1987, 1991). The historical evolution of restaurants has been detailed (Root and Rochemont 1976, Levenstein 1988, 1993). Food preferences and foodways are also frequent subjects of popular literature, as writers, too, have found fodder in the topic (Sokolov 1981, Egerton 1993).

Purpose of the Study

The cultural geographer’s quest to describe and explain patterns of spatial variation in human activities leads to the investigation of diverse phenomena. While the study sometimes encompasses a large, generalized region, such as the entire United States, other surveys involve a more intense look at a smaller area. Zelinsky (1973, 1992)

suggests that foodways research is a geographic theme worthy of investigation.

Furthermore, he states that research involving foodways offers insights into other areas of geographic interest, such as climate, economics, ethnicity, religion, architecture, and leisure activities. Henderson (1982) also calls for more research applying foodways to cultural studies, to increase the knowledge base of such patterns. The Upper Peninsula (UP) of Michigan has received only marginal attention in the study of foodways. Several studies use the US Census Bureau's Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA) as the data source. However, since there are no SMSA's in the UP, these studies are but generalizations. (A SMSA is defined as an urbanized area with a population of at least 50,000. The designation has since been changed to Metropolitan Statistical Area, or MSA). None of the 271 SMSA's of Zelinsky's 1985 and 1987 studies of ethnic eateries are in the UP. Neither Roark's (1985) examination of eighty-eight metropolitan areas nor Shortridge and Shortridge's (1989) analysis of eighteen metropolitan cities samples the UP. Brown (1985) tested Zelinsky's generalized assessment of ethnic eateries in another part of the country, Oklahoma, and Milbauer conducted a rural study of menus in eastern Oklahoma. The only studies that deal specifically with the foodways of the UP (Lockwood and Lockwood 1987, 1991) are presented from the folklorist's perspective; as Magnaghi (1997a) states, there has not been a "definitive study" of UP foodways. The goal of this thesis is to explore the foodways of the UP through an examination of its restaurants. This study focuses on the small town and rural nature of the UP, thereby allowing comparisons with existing studies of metropolitan areas, such as Roark's and Pillsbury's declarations of a propensity for pizza in the North, and Zelinsky's prediction of a dominant Chinese ethnic cuisine. Thus, the purpose is to contribute to the stock of

geographic food research by identifying and mapping restaurant types in the UP of Michigan.

Research Questions

What types of restaurants are commonly found in the UP? Where are the different types located, and how do these restaurant types vary spatially in the UP? What foods are offered at restaurants in the UP? Has the pasty, the meat and vegetable pastry introduced by Cornish miners, become a regional symbol of the UP? How does the geography of food in the UP compare to other places as revealed by other studies? Do factors such as ethnicity, religion, settlement patterns, population density, land use, or the economy influence the food patterns of the UP? The major questions guiding my research are discussed below.

Research Question 1:

A wide range of eating establishment types is available in the UP, from pasty shops and roadside cafes, to fast food eateries and franchise restaurants, to fine dining. Spatially, the fast food and ethnic eateries appear to be concentrated in urban areas, those places with more than 2,500 people. *What types of food service are available throughout the UP—in the urban areas, the smaller communities, and the tourist/recreational areas of the UP?*

Research Question 2:

Ethnic eateries comprise a minority restaurant type in the UP. The classification scheme employed by Zelinsky (1985) includes the UP in that part of the country where Chinese restaurants are the prevalent ethnic cuisine. However, Zelinsky also notes a pattern of Italian restaurants in areas settled by Italian immigrants. ***What is the predominant ethnic restaurant type in the UP, and what is the spatial distribution of ethnic restaurants in the UP?***

Research Question 3:

National origins have played a role in shaping regional foodways within the UP. Nevertheless, ethnic groups have assimilated, adopting foods of other groups. While Cornish miners introduced the pasty (pronounced *pass tee*) to the western UP, the Finns and Italians adopted it, as did the wider UP community. As a result, the pasty has come to be considered a regional symbol. Today, pasty shops and eating establishments offering pasties are also found in the eastern UP. ***How widespread is the distribution of the pasty in the UP?***

Research Question 4:

According to Pillsbury's assessment of contemporary diet regions, the UP consists of a combination of traditional and historic transaction zones. Therefore, the foods of the region should reveal a conservative quality, combined with ethnic overtones. ***Do restaurant menus reflect such a pattern of traditional tastes?***

Research Question 5:

Jakle's (1995) study indicates a tendency after World War II towards a standardization referred to as "place-product-packaging." While this trend has generally served to transform the appearance of roadside restaurants, this is not necessarily the case in the UP. Whether due to the sparse population, relative isolation, or preponderance of independent ownership—and thus a relative lack of standardization through the process of franchisement—roadside restaurants in the UP often exhibit a vernacular, or local style, as opposed to any standardized architectural types. *What kinds of construction materials and what building types are commonly found in restaurants along the roadsides of the UP?*

Significance of the Study

Cultural geography is concerned with human activities and the processes associated with adaptations and adjustments to changes. In light of Pillsbury's (1998:187) assertion that over half of all food purchases in the United States are expended in restaurants, the study of restaurants can serve as an indicator of an area's prevalent tastes and preferences. Likewise, "the availability of certain foods provide clues regarding the settlement history of ethnic groups and their diffusion into society as well as a community's adaptation and incorporation of a group's lifestyle" (Henderson 1982). Jakle and Sculle (1999) explain that cultural geography provides a useful format for studying behavior in various social contexts, such as food habits associated with restaurants. Therefore, cultural geography affords a valuable framework for an investigation of this type.

This case study offers a detailed examination of an often-overlooked area in order to contribute to the existing body of literature and provide a basis for comparative studies with rural areas in other parts of the country. Moreover, this thesis explores the development of regional foodway symbols, ascertains the distribution of restaurant types in the UP, and compares results with those of various other studies. Finally, this thesis examines the “restaurant landscape” of the UP, and analyzes menus for insights into the area’s culinary preferences.

Thesis Organization

This thesis is organized as follows: chapter 1 introduces the purpose of the study and sets forth the research questions to be examined. A literature review of food research topics is presented in chapter 2, while chapter 3 provides a historical geography of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. The study area is defined and research methods are detailed in chapter 4. The results of the survey are provided in chapter 5, and chapter 6 includes a summary, conclusions, and recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The concept of foodways research evokes a wide variety of definitions and viewpoints. A considerable amount of literature can be found relating to foodways within a number of disciplines including anthropology, sociology, history, nutrition, folklore, public health, and education (Camp 1982). Much of this research is highly specialized, and there has not been a great deal of interaction among the various disciplines. This vast amount of literature, both popular and scholarly, dealing with American food and food habits complicates any review (Camp 1979). Nevertheless, the following discussion organizes the literature topically in order to show the major research trends.

Bibliographies

Bibliographies provide an overview of available literature. Shortridge and Shortridge (1995) offer a comprehensive bibliography of foodways in "Cultural Geography of American Foodways: An Annotated Bibliography." The authors have compiled a master bibliography of more than 1,250 entries in conjunction with an American Foodways seminar at the University of Kansas. This work includes what they consider to be the

most useful sources for geographic research, a listing of 135 entries. The sources are primarily composed of academic literature; the inclusion of popular articles and cookbooks is limited to those of regional importance. Entries are divided into nine sections: Ethnic/Regional Foodways; Individual Foods; Eating Out; Marketing; Food Festivals; History and Trends; The Perspective of Anthropology, Folklore, Psychology and Sociology; Cookbooks and Other Data Sources; and Bibliographies.

“America Eats: Toward a Social Definition of American Foodways” (Camp 1978) is a doctoral dissertation that includes an extensive literature review covering foodways, as well as an outline of a model course for an American Foodways seminar. This study analyzes the effects and results of work relating to foodways research conducted during the late 1930’s and early 1940’s by the Federal Committee on Food Habits and the Federal Writers’ Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA). “Food in American Culture: A Bibliographic Essay” (Camp 1979) presents a listing of 250 references used for his doctoral dissertation in outline form. Much of this material dates back to the 1940’s and 1950’s—the most recent being 1978. In “Foodways in Everyday Life,” Camp (1982) categorizes and totals foodways-related research in table format. The categories include the production or gathering of foodstuffs, the distribution of foodstuffs, cookery, distribution of foods, and consumption of foods. This work enlarged the bibliography to 450 citations. The book *American Foodways: What, When, Why and How We Eat in America* (Camp 1985) summarizes the previous works of this author.

A more specialized bibliography is Huddleston’s (1978) “A Burger Bibliography.” More than 80 of the 105 entries specifically pertain to McDonald’s. The data sources are primarily from popular literature.

Essentially a literature review, *Consuming Geographies: We Are Where We Eat* by British geographers Bell and Valentine (1997) presents food as a contemporary cultural force. They employ inter-connecting “spatial scales”—body, home, community, city, region, nation, and global—to relate various aspects of food consumption.

Ethnic Cuisine

Much of the geographic foodways-related research in the 1980’s and 1990’s has been patterned after Wilbur Zelinsky’s 1980 use of telephone directories as a data collection tool in “North America’s Vernacular Regions.” Zelinsky also used telephone directories of 271 cities, including Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA) in the United States and Canadian cities of comparable size to determine ethnic restaurant regions in “The Roving Palate: North America’s Ethnic Restaurant Cuisines” (1985) and “You Are Where You Eat” (1987). In these studies of ethnic restaurants Zelinsky determines that Chinese restaurants are most numerous. Concluding that they do not dominate in any region of the United States, Zelinsky found that Chinese restaurants are prevalent in northern California, the Pacific Northwest, and eastern New England. Italian restaurants tend to follow a spatial distribution of Italian immigrants, especially in the Northeast. Likewise, Mexican restaurants prevail in the Southwest. He suggests that further studies should include the smaller cities and rural areas.

Brown (1985) uses Zelinsky’s model for his Oklahoma State University Master’s paper “An Evaluation of the Use of Yellow Pages to Identify Ethnic Eateries.” Using three of the metropolitan areas from Zelinsky’s study (Tulsa and Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, and Wichita, Kansas), Brown also investigates three smaller areas in between

to see how they compared with Zelinsky's findings of a generalized area. Additionally, he shows concern with the accuracy and completeness of yellow page restaurant listings. Brown accesses telephone book listings before interviewing knowledgeable sources and field-checking restaurants in Ponca City, Enid, and Stillwater, Oklahoma. He also checks Tulsa's listings for accuracy and completeness. While acknowledging limitations of a yellow page survey (misleading advertisements and missing entries), Brown determines that this is a valuable evaluation method. He finds advertisements to be more accurate for the small cities than for the metropolitan areas. He also concludes that, in this case, Zelinsky's survey of metropolitan ethnic restaurants was representative of the eateries of the intermediate area. Furthermore, yellow page surveys of small cities are possibly more accurate and complete than similar surveys of larger cities.

Arreola (1983) analyzes the local geography of Mexican ethnic restaurants in Tucson, Arizona. The article focuses on changes in building appearances and signs that reflect an ethnic theme. This ethnicity, Arreola maintains, is most likely for commercial profit. However, it does reflect an increased influence of Hispanic culture and its acceptance in this area. This new restaurant "look" is becoming part of the cultural landscape in other areas of the country as well.

You Eat What You Are (Barer-Stein 1981) examines the cooking and eating habits and customs of ethnic groups that have migrated to North America. The author, a dietician, explores the cultural influences affecting the food habits of more than a hundred ethnic groups. A brief history is given for each group, as well as foods commonly used, cooking methods, and regional specialties.

Another approach focuses on foods that are eaten by some cultures, while prohibited

by others. *Unmentionable Cuisine* (Schwabe 1979) identifies foods that are available in the United States, but rarely consumed. According to the author, the goal of this book is to reduce the wastage of food. Although Schwabe does not advocate eating endangered species, he does suggest that people should eat species that are considered to be pests. *Eat Not This Flesh* (Simoons 1994) presents a historical overview of food habits and avoidances pertaining to pork, beef, chicken and eggs, horsemeat, camelflesh, dogflesh, and fish in Africa, Eurasia, Europe, India, Southeast Asia and China. Simoons examines possible explanations, which range from religious beliefs, sacredness, and morality, to economic and health concerns.

Homogenization / Regional Distinctiveness

A major portion of the literature dealing with foodways research is concerned with the aspects of traditional and contemporary food regions and the question of a possible standardization of American food preferences. In "Fast Foods: American Food Regions," Roark (1985) tests the assumption that fast-foods have not really served to standardize the United States, but that distinct cultural regions do indeed exist. He utilizes yellow page directories to study fast-food restaurants from eighty-eight American metropolitan areas. Roark develops five fast-food restaurant categories: burgers, pizza, chicken, barbecue, and hot dogs. Hamburger and pizza fast-food restaurants were found to be most numerous. He notices more pizza places in the North, and a tendency towards chicken or barbecue in the South. This study does not reveal any specific trend for the West, however. The article includes maps of each of the food categories, showing the

areas of dominance. Roark intimates that the study had possible weaknesses due to the complexity of the regional behavioral factors and lack of literature on the subject.

Pillsbury (1998) examines contemporary cultural regions with respect to foodways in *No Foreign Food: The American Diet in Time and Place*. He attributes these new regions to growth in many areas, as well as a change from the traditional immigration patterns of the United States. He also probes the evolution of regional cuisines, and revisits the development of the restaurant in America.

Gabaccia (1998) claims that while climate and terrain helped to mold and reinforce regional food patterns in the past, technological advances have diminished the significance of geography. Exploring the relationship between ethnicity, regionalism, and nationalism in American eating habits and the effects that cultural exchanges have produced, case studies of Minneapolis-St. Paul, San Francisco, Charleston, New York, and San Antonio are presented. A paradox is found in the food habits of Americans; while likely to be “culturally conservative” they also display a tendency to search for new and different food ventures. Gabaccia asserts that we Americans are what we eat—multi-ethnic.

Northern Michigan University history professor Russell Magnaghi attributes the unique blend of ethnic foods in the area to its settlement history in “The Foodways of the Upper Peninsula” (1997a). A short bibliography offers mainly newspaper and magazine articles, due to the lack of regional studies.

Shortridge and Shortridge (1998) edited *The Taste of American Place: A Reader on Regional and Ethnic Foods*. This collection of readings seeks to prove the diversity of foodways in America. The editors describe food as a “sensitive indicator of identity and

change in American culture.” They dispute any claims that label the foodways of the United States as homogeneous. Divided into three sections, the book covers regional foods, ethnic foods, and eating out. This book also has an extensive bibliography, and provides suggestions for foodways research projects.

“Patterns of American Rice Consumption 1955 and 1980” and “Consumption of Fresh Produce in the Metropolitan United States” are additional articles produced by Shortridge and Shortridge (1983,1989). United States Department of Agriculture reports were utilized for both studies. Tables and maps are included to help reveal regions of particular preferences and avoidances. However, the scale of these studies is quite large.

On a more localized scale, Milbauer’s (1990) “The Geography of Food in Eastern Oklahoma: A Small Restaurant Study” is an examination of menus from sixty-five restaurants in eastern Oklahoma. He does not include ethnic or fast food restaurants, but concentrates on the small “indigenous” restaurants in order to acquire an insight into the culture of the region. His results indicate that the area is very conservative. Traditional foods are prevalent; “healthy” foods are not in demand. Milbauer concludes that the foodways of this particular population are not innovative. This study serves as a model for a non-urban investigation.

Gillespie’s essay “Foodways in the Pine Barrens” (Brown and Mussell 1984) portrays the foodways and circumstances of the residents of the New Jersey Pine Barrens. This case study explores how food mores indicate the culture of this particular community. The area, while comparable in its foodways to other rural areas of the United States, is nevertheless considered distinctive because of the cultural persistence and uniqueness of this wilderness within an otherwise urban New Jersey. Amid a subsistence-based culture,

the Pinelands Cultural Society was formed in an effort to preserve cultural traditions. He While initially interested in the area's music, this society has published a cookbook and organized a Pine Barrens foodway luncheon, serving clam chowder, South Jersey apple juice, Barnegat Bay clam fritters, turnip n' tater stew, and huckleberry pie.

In contrast to Milbauer and Gillespie, Kariel (1966) addresses diet at a global scale. He suggests a method of classifying and mapping diet, developing twenty classes according to an area's major sources of calories and protein. Each class is described, and a map is presented showing the generalized distribution of food types eaten around the world. A French geographer and pioneer of foodways research, Max Sorre (1962) advocates that geographers utilize nutritional studies to analyze the effects of diet on various social groups. In his study of "dietary regime," Sorre includes the foods and their preparation techniques that sustain a cultural group throughout a year; the energy value of a diet (balance of protein, carbohydrates, and fat); and the vitamins provided by a diet.

Regional Foodways in the South

As a subject for foodways research, the South has received considerable attention. Kovacik (1988) uses the South as a data source in a study that, in contrast to Roark (1985), indicates a tendency towards standardization. He acquired data via yellow pages for "Eating Out in South Carolina's Cities: The Last Fifty Years." This study inspects restaurants of Columbia, Charleston, and Greenville, South Carolina since the 1930's to determine how economic changes have affected the restaurants of the South. The three cities had a total of only eighty restaurants listed in the 1930 directories. According to

Kovacik, the meat, meal, and molasses of the 1930's has been replaced in the South. He claims that the proliferation of chain restaurants, as well as ethnic restaurants, have served to alter the preferences of the southern diner. Kovacik deduces that South Carolina is becoming more like the rest of the nation in its foodways than it was fifty years previously.

While somewhat dated, the chapter "Climate, Diet, and Human Adequacy" in Vance's 1935 book, *Human Geography of the South: A Study in Regional Resources and Human Adequacy* contributes to the literature depicting a southern cultural region. Using an ecological approach, Vance determines that the southerner's diet was not well adjusted for the climate because of the consumption of too much sugar and fat for the temperature. Analyzing the diets of different social classes, he also examines the influence of social and economic factors on diet in the South. A survey of three socio-economic groups reveals a strong positive correlation between social status and diet. All in all, however, he finds that the southern diet is severely lacking in nutrients that could easily be provided by the inclusion of more milk, protein foods, fruits, and vegetables.

Another classic work is *Twixt the Cup and the Lip: Psychological and Socio-Cultural Factors Affecting Food Habits* (Cussler and de Give 1952). This book is the result of fieldwork and interviews on food habits and nutrition performed in association with the National Nutrition Program between 1940 and 1942. While spatially limited to three communities in the southeast, it provides extensive information over the tobacco area around Seaford, North Carolina, the cotton area in Thoms County, Georgia, and German and Swiss-settled German Flats, South Carolina.

In a very different type of study, "Hog Meat and Cornpone: Food Habits of the Antebellum South," Hilliard (1969a) argues that the South remains a distinct cultural region regarding its foodways. He acknowledges that demographic variables affect food habits. While focusing primarily on the period prior to the Civil War, Hilliard explains the persistence of "southern foods" and their evolution as traditional regional fare. Hilliard (1969b, 1972) elaborates on this theme in "Pork in the Ante-Bellum South: The Geography of Self-sufficiency" and *Hog Meat and Hoecake: Food Supply in the Old South, 1840-1860*. Using census data from 1840, 1850, and 1860, as well as diaries, letters, and other documents, Hilliard assesses the self-sufficiency of the South in relation to food during this timeframe by comparing the rates of pork production and estimated consumption. While determining that differences existed among various parts of the South, the author concludes that each individual area dealt successfully with its own food requirements. All in all, conveys Hilliard, the South was basically providing its own food, dispelling the assumption that cotton production precluded the region's self-sufficiency.

Identifying food as a central, unifying phenomena in the South that embodies social, cultural, economical, political, and religious aspects, Egerton (1993) presents a writer's viewpoint on Southern food and its influence on the character of the region. Recognizing a lack of historical writings that incorporate food, as well as the failure of cookbooks to present a historical perspective, Egerton attempts to fill the gap with *Southern Food: At Home, on the Road, in History*. He visited more than 335 restaurants in eleven southern states over an eight-month period. Eateries serving traditional Southern food were subjectively included. The author admits that this was not a comprehensive examination

of the region's restaurants. While this book merely relates one person's thoughts about different places, it uses food to create a regional characterization.

Food as a Regional Symbol

Food can also be used as a symbolic representation of a region. Lockwood and Lockwood (1987, 1991) depict one such symbol as they explore the transformation of an ethnic group's foodways culture to the culture of a region. The pasty, a culinary trait of the Cornish immigrants who worked in the mines of Michigan's Upper Peninsula during the mid-nineteenth century, was adopted by other ethnic groups, and has come to be considered a regional food and symbol of the area. According to Gabaccia (1998), the pasty, which was first commercially produced after World War II as a bar food, is a symbol of Great Lakes eating. It is said to be as commonly eaten as the hamburger.

A compilation of writings for *Natural History* magazine relates several occurrences of regional foods in *Fading Feast: A Compendium of Disappearing American Regional Foods* (Sokolov 1981). Among the selections is "Tasty Pasty: Michigan's Finnish-Cornish Meat Pie." Here Sokolov explores the history of the pasty in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, from its Cornish introduction to the Finnish adaptation. Questioning the future resilience of the pasty in the UP against pressures from fast food establishments, he paraphrases a Cornish adage by saying that "the devil seems to have kept out of the Upper Peninsula for fear of being made into a pasty" (Sokolov 1981:69).

The crawfish is known as a regional and ethnic symbol in southern Louisiana. Gutierrez (1984, 1992) discusses this symbolization, describing the crawfish boil in detail, as well as the role of the Cajun restaurant in publicizing these customs. Gutierrez

employed extensive fieldwork in researching *Cajun Foodways*. Written from an anthropological/folklorist perspective, this work investigates how the identity of this south Louisiana group is related to their food habits.

Another example of a regional food is Cincinnati chili (Lloyd 1981). Developed as an economic venture during the 1920's, the use of cinnamon and a variety of other spices, and the layering of ingredients over spaghetti are trademarks of this local chili tradition.

Yoder offers ideas for foodways research from the perspective of a folklorist. He describes folk cookery as "traditional domestic cookery marked by regional variation." His chapter on the subject, in Dorson's *Folklore and Folklife* (1972), uses European studies as a model for American research. Yoder emphasizes the role played by climate and diverse backgrounds in delineating the cultures of different regions. He relates that a staple food of a rural area sometimes undergoes a standardization and commercialization process in nearby urban centers, and it is the resulting commercial urban version that becomes the region's culinary icon.

Types of Eateries

Other research focuses on different types of eateries. For example, Gutman (1979) presents a brief history of the development of the American diner as a cultural phenomenon. He traces its evolution from lunch cart, to lunch wagon, to permanent street cafe. The diner is technically a "pre-fabricated restaurant with counter service. Built in sections at a factory, it is transported to the site." The photographic section of this book provides an excellent portrayal of "Diners and Diner People."

Linking standardization in roadside food to a Depression-era cultural trend stressing a “mainstream, conservative synthesis,” Belasco (1979) indicates that the automobile was instrumental in the development of family-oriented restaurants. “Toward a Culinary Common Denominator: The Rise of Howard Johnson’s, 1925-1940” explains how components of the tearoom, diner, and roadside stand came together to create the homey atmosphere, uncontroversial menus, speedy service, and centralized management of the Howard Johnson franchises. Similarly, John Jakle (1982) describes the evolution of roadside eateries, propelled by the increase in automobile travel, in “Roadside Restaurants and Place-Product-Packaging.” Initially, travelers often carried their lunches with them, stopping to eat along the roadside. Cafes in the towns served travelers, and by the start of World War I, “tearooms” became popular. Roadside stands, highway coffee shops, drive-in restaurants, and walk-up restaurants (outdoor and indoor) led the way to franchising. This standardization of buildings, signs, menus, and prices created a familiarity so that travelers could experience their “adventures” without suffering too much anxiety. According to Jakle, “place-product-packaging is a total design idea.” Cultural regions are mapped, showing total restaurant sales in 1977. Jakle includes factors such as the economy, liquor laws, and neighborhood opposition in his attempt to account for some of the regional differences.

Jakle, a geographer, along with historian Keith Sculle wrote *Fast Food: Roadside Restaurants in the Automobile Age* (1999). Mainly concerned with where an automobile traveler eats, this book studies restaurants as “behavior settings.” The authors relate that since “restaurants are symptomatic of the times,” such a study can reveal lessons about a culture. The relationship between usage of the automobile and its effect on the built

environment along the roadways is explored, and “quick service” establishments, primarily franchises and chains, are emphasized. Also included is a case study of restaurants in Springfield, Illinois, covering changes in this city’s restaurant scene in 20-year intervals, from 1915 to 1995.

Focusing additionally on the standardization of architectural styles by restaurant franchises is Lohof’s 1979 article, “Hamburger Stand: Industrialization and the American Fast-Food Phenomenon.” This work compares the transition in building types from the “greasy spoon” Royal Castle chain that operated from 1938 to 1975, to those of the Burger King Corporation. Lohof stresses that the structures of the former were in the “vernacular tradition, embodying the characteristics of economy, simplicity, and flexibility.” Although Burger King replaced the visible fry-cook with an assembly line composed mainly of unskilled teenagers, he maintains that the architecture of the “industrialized hamburger” is also vernacular. Likewise, Langdon (1986) traces the evolution of chain restaurant architectural styles, linking changes over the decades to social and political moods. He observes that these structures tended to “embody the spirit of their times.” For example, the emphasis on sanitation of the 1920’s and 1930’s is displayed by the use of white vitrolite, shiny chrome, and modernism and Art Deco styles. Also, the gaudy colors and “ornamental clutter” reflect the rebelliousness prevalent during the emotional upheavals of the 1960’s and early ‘70’s, and the use of natural materials, earth tones, and landscaping responds to the environmental concerns of the mid-70’s and 1980’s. Yet another work examines the contributions of the Howard Johnson chain in standardizing the roadside landscape (Gould 1991).

Manzo's investigation of Northeastern diners involves a transect running through New Jersey into Pennsylvania. For his 1990 article, "From Pushcart to Modular Restaurant: The Diner on the Landscape," Manzo photographed and cataloged diners along the route, as well as actively engaging in "participant-observer" fieldwork at fourteen diners. This assessment of the classic diner-type examines menus, the physical appearance of diners (inside and outside), and considers personnel and management styles in an effort to trace the evolution of this restaurant type. "The Diner in the South" (Manzo 1996) is an expansion of the previous study, in which the author adds diners in Virginia, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Florida to the study area. He attributes the diner's popularity in the North to its relative lack of success in the South. In essence, he maintains, the diner was never popular in the South because it was considered a threat to the identity of the region since it was perceived as a symbol of the North.

Carstensen (1986) utilizes statistics and cartographic analysis to examine the diffusion of McDonald's restaurants over time and space. Data were collected from store directories in an effort to portray the growth patterns in the United States between 1955 and 1978. The results indicate that population has been a major factor in the location of McDonald's restaurants, and that they then spread systematically to other locales in a hierarchical fashion. Henderson (1982) also uses maps to portray various patterns relating to food and drink.

Class and Cuisine

Historians have studied foodways from regional and evolutionary perspectives, as well as from the viewpoint of social class. Cummings' (1940) *The American and His Food*

proves useful for studies ranging from the 1780's to the 1930's, and includes all social classes. By contrast, *Dining in America 1850-1900* (Grover 1987) is a collection of writings that deals mainly with food habits of the middle class during this time period. *Eating in America: A History* (Root and Rochemont 1976) describes the evolution of American foodways from pre-Columbian times, progressing temporally to the 1970's. This book describes each region of the expanding country, and explores the cuisine of the various regions. One chapter, "A History of American Restaurants" focuses mainly on lavish restaurants of New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Kansas City, Boston, New Orleans, and Philadelphia. The heyday for these restaurants was around the turn of the century, as the number of millionaires in the United States rose from less than twenty in 1840, to more than 40,000 by 1916. In this sense, the book tends to concentrate on the foodways of the elite class.

Levenstein (1988, 1993) also explores the history of American foodways. *Revolution at the Table: Transformation of the American Diet* details changes in American foodways between 1880 and 1930. Differences in food habits are attributed not only to cultural regions, but are also described as being dependent on *social class* (the rich could savor large French-inspired meals, while the rural diet was dependent upon the local geography). Levenstein examines the effects of the social, economic, and technological changes occurring during this period, including the expansion of the middle class, the role of working women, unavailability of domestic help, research in nutritional studies, changes in preparation, preservation, and processing of foods, and transportation advances. *Paradox of Plenty: A Social History of Eating in Modern America* outlines the American diet beginning in the 1930's, picking up where the previous book ended. This

book offers insights into changes in American food habits over the years. Magazines and cookbooks were instrumental in the shift to a Midwestern “American traditional cookery.” Dieting, food and health mania, and an attitude of simplicity contributed to the decline of “fine dining.” The effects of prohibition, brought about by the 1919 Volstead Act are detailed—many fine hotel restaurants closed, while the demand for middle and lower-middle class restaurants expanded. Restaurants became respectable places for women due to prohibition; as bars closed, lunch counters, restaurants, cafeterias, and drugstore soda fountains replaced them. Even though drinking made a comeback after prohibition was repealed, Levenstein asserts that fine dining in America did not.

Economic Locational Studies

Among the geographical studies providing a framework for a regional investigation of eateries is Pillsbury’s 1987 evaluation of Atlanta, Georgia restaurants “From Hamburger Alley to Hedgerose Heights: Toward a Model of Restaurant Location Dynamics.” A locational model was designed to graphically represent the variables including accessibility, ambience, and certain socioeconomic factors in an effort to delineate how the geography of restaurants relates to food type and demographics. He concludes that restaurant types in an urban area tend to cluster, and that the customer’s reason for dining out—whether to “fuel the body” or to “fuel the soul”—is influential in determining the optimal location for a particular restaurant type. Pillsbury suggests that studies of the “restaurant landscapes” of small towns and rural areas be undertaken to compare with his urban model.

Pillsbury (1990) expanded the study to analyze the restaurants of various other cities.

More than 12,000 restaurants were visited, categorized, mapped, and included in a database as part of the fieldwork for *From Boarding House to Bistro: The American Restaurant Then and Now*. According to Pillsbury, taverns, inns, and boarding houses were the first American restaurants, although travelers or boarders were generally the only ones to experience the dismal fare. He attributes the development of restaurants in large part to the Industrial Revolution. Later, the popularity of the automobile was also an instrumental factor in the transformation of American eating habits. Pillsbury indicates that revenues generated by the restaurant industry increased greatly after 1975, more than tripling over a twenty-year period. He identifies six major regional restaurant patterns: **Beefhouse** in the Northwest, **Taverntown** in the Midwestern corn and dairy belts, **Dinerland** in the Northeastern United States, **Barbeque Pit** in the South, **Taco Stand** in the Southwest, and **Chain Alley**, a string of twentieth century corporate “growth” cities including Dallas, Houston, Minneapolis, Portland, Seattle, Phoenix, San Diego, Denver, and Miami. Additionally, he maintains that people prefer to eat wherever they feel most comfortable—neither too far above or below their social status. Restaurant clusters are examined and five factors affecting them are outlined: demographic variables, the consumer’s purpose, accessibility, regional characteristics, and temporal innovation patterns. Pillsbury (1990:3) observes that “urban restaurants appear and disappear like mushrooms after a rain.”

Cookbooks

Cookbooks are a frequently mentioned source of foodway information. Caution is advised when using cookbooks as an indication of cultural region, however. Shortridge

and Shortridge (1998) warn that sometimes cookbooks are not well documented, and may or may not be compilations of typical recipes (perhaps a collection of special occasion meals rather than everyday meals). They suggest sampling cookbooks by geographic area or time period. According to Camp (1978), while cookbooks are easily accessible, they have the potential to show more of the personal preferences of the particular author instead of a true regional reflection. Camp does find that some cookbooks, such as those of local churches or clubs, are indicative of the regional foodways.

Ireland (1981) addresses the fund-raiser cookbooks in “The Compiled Cookbook as Foodways Autobiography.” She suggests that not only can preferences be delimited, but much insight can also be determined by what is *not* included in a cookbook. She indicates that as with most autobiographies, the question remains “Is this truly what you do, or what you want us to think you do?” After interviewing contributors, Ireland concluded that these cookbooks accurately portray some groups and can provide useful information concerning food attitudes and habits, but should not totally replace field investigation.

The Time-Life series of cookbooks are also notable for their regional contributions. *American Cooking: The Eastern Heartland* (Wilson 1971) groups New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana and Illinois into a region sharing a style of cooking that relies on the indigenous resources and descends from Northern European ties. Regional foodway traditions are described, and recipes are included. *Taste of the States: A Food History of America* (Lee 1992) divides the fifty states into the following regions: New England, Middle Atlantic, Upper South, Deep South, Great Lakes, Midwest, Southwest, Mountain States, Pacific Northwest, California, and New States

(Alaska and Hawaii). Each state is portrayed in this cookbook, which includes more regional information than recipes.

Defining Minnesota, Iowa, Wisconsin, the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, and eastern North Dakota as the “Northern Heartland,” Dooley and Watson (1994) attempt to convey this region’s culinary traditions. Their cookbook, *Savoring the Seasons of the Northern Heartland*, offers insight into foodways of this area, focusing on the climate, the mixture of ethnic backgrounds settling there, and the lifestyles encouraged by an economy emphasizing mining, logging, and farming. For example, the Friday night fish fry, popular in this area, is attributed to the French-Canadian fur trappers who later became fisherman; it is a tradition instituted through the observation of the Catholic Church’s Friday ban on meat consumption.

The *Pride of Northern Michigan Cookbook* (Creative Characters 1995) is a compilation of favorite recipes from restaurants and inns in northern Michigan, with a section devoted to the Upper Peninsula. The Michigan Bureau of History and Michigan Travel Bureau provided background information concerning the area and the featured restaurants.

Conclusion

While this thesis is not modeled after any specific study, it does utilize several of the above works. For instance, Zelinsky, Kovacik, Arreola, and Brown’s use of yellow page listings, and Roark’s analysis of fast food types are imitated. Portions of my fieldwork techniques and methods were adopted from Manzo, Egerton, Milbauer, Arreola, and Pillsbury. Some of Cartensen’s cartographic methods were also employed in this

research. The *Pride of Northern Michigan Cookbook* provided useful information, as did the pasty articles by Magnaghi, Lockwood and Lockwood, Gabaccia, and Sokolov. Methodologies are related in further detail in chapter 4. First, though, background information on the Upper Peninsula of Michigan can provide useful insights into the foodways of this area.

CHAPTER III

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE UPPER PENINSULA

Introduction

Should you ask me, whence these stories?
Whence these legends and traditions,
With the odours of the forest,
With the dew and damp of meadows,
With the curling smoke of wigwams,
With the rushing of great rivers,
With their frequent repetitions,
And their wild reverberations,
As of thunder in the mountains?
I should answer, I should tell you:
'From the forests and the prairies,
From the great lakes of the Northland,
From the land of the Ojibways,
From the land of the Dacotahs,
From the mountains, moors, and fenlands,
Where the heron, the Shuh-shuh-gah,
Feeds among the reeds and rushes.
I repeat them as I heard them
From the lips of Nawadaha,
The musician, the sweet singer.' . . . (Longfellow 1855)

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's *Song of Hiawatha* is partially set among the Ojibwa (or Chippewa) Indians in the forests, marshes, rivers, and Lake Superior (Gitche Gumee) area of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. While Longfellow had never been there, he borrowed from the writings of Nawadaha (geologist, Indian agent and ethnographer Henry Rowe Schoolcraft) to present life among the Indians. Reflecting a later era, some

of Ernest Hemingway's writings also focus on the UP. His *In Our Time* features Nick Adams' adventures of disembarking a train at the burned out lumber town of Seney, and proceeding through the woods to fish the Two Hearted River. The physical geography of the UP provides a background for such literary works.

Location, Climate, Geology of the UP

The Upper Peninsula of Michigan is located between approximately 45° and 48° N latitudes and 90° 15" and 83° 30" W longitudes. The UP extends eastward for 334 miles between Lake Superior and Lake Michigan from its border with northeastern Wisconsin (figure 1). While the UP's nearly 11,000,000 acres comprise almost one-third of the state's total area, only slightly more than three percent of Michigan's population resides in the UP. Private and public forests make up 81 percent of the area's land use, compared to 51.5 percent statewide. As a result of the glacial activity, there are nearly 4,300 inland lakes in the UP (Hillstrom and Hillstrom 1998).

The UP experiences four distinct seasons, with the insulation of the Great Lakes affecting the temperatures and providing conditions for lake-effect snow in certain places. For example, Keweenaw and Houghton Counties average more than 200 inches of snow per year. Delta County, located in the so-called Banana Belt of the UP, gets the least snowfall of any UP county, an average of 50 inches per year. The average yearly rainfall in the UP ranges from 28 inches in Delta County to 35 inches in Gogebic and Marquette Counties. The temperature of the UP generally differs 10-12 degrees from southern parts of the state, with average highs in the 70's during the summer and the 20's in the winter.

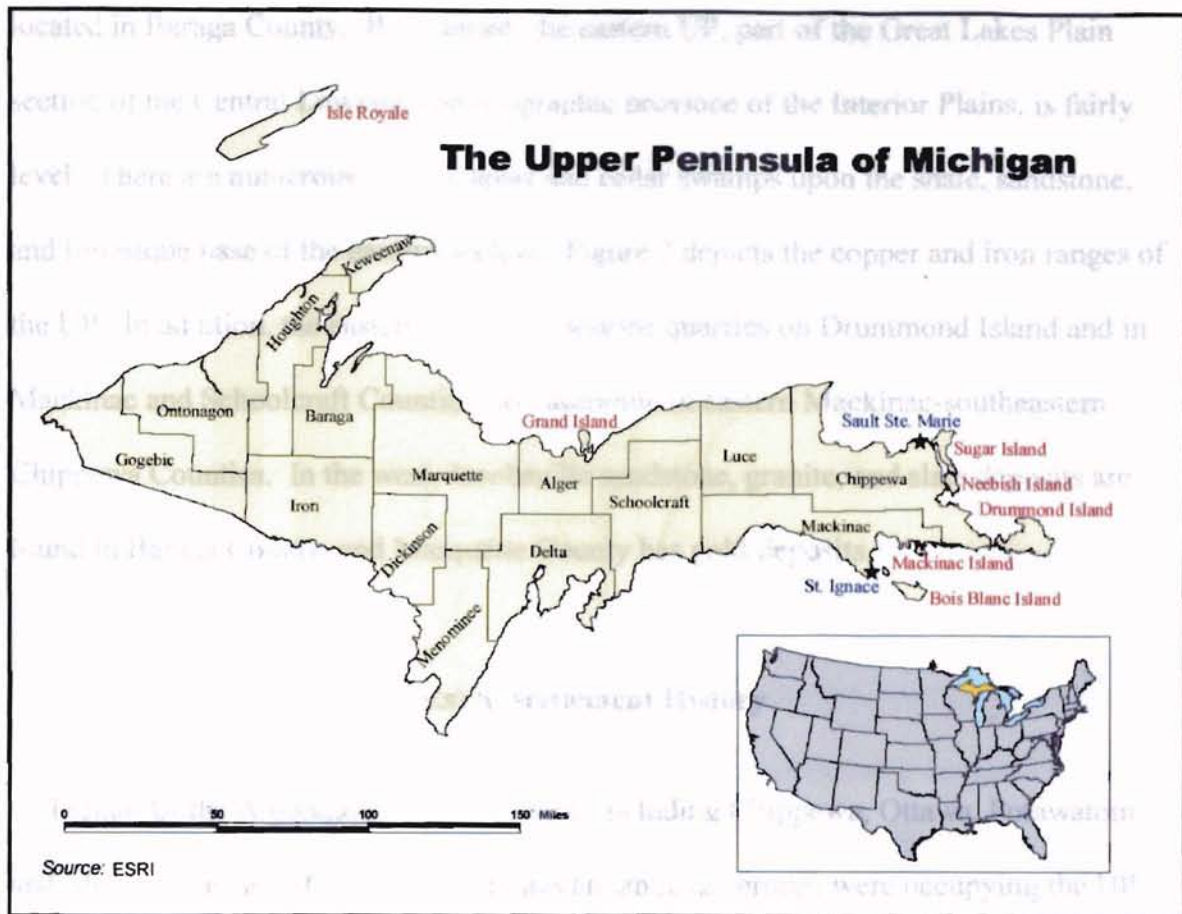


Figure 1. Location of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan.

There are generally 4-6 days when the temperature is over 90° F in the UP, and as many as 43 days below 0° F in Baraga and Gogebic Counties. The typical growing season in the UP ranges from 152 days in Delta County to only 84 days in Iron County (Michigan Economic and Development Corporation 1999).

Geologically, the western portion of the UP is part of the Canadian Shield—also known as the Laurentian Upland—that covers much of eastern and central Canada. While glacial activity caused the fertile topsoil to be moved to the southern part of the state, mineral deposits are found in the crystalline rocks and granites of the mountainous western UP. Mount Arvon, the highest point in Michigan (elevation 1,979 feet) is

located in Baraga County. By contrast, the eastern UP, part of the Great Lakes Plain section of the Central Lowlands physiographic province of the Interior Plains, is fairly level. There are numerous marshy areas and cedar swamps upon the shale, sandstone, and limestone base of the eastern section. Figure 2 depicts the copper and iron ranges of the UP. In addition, the eastern UP has limestone quarries on Drummond Island and in Mackinac and Schoolcraft Counties, and dolomite in eastern Mackinac-southeastern Chippewa Counties. In the west, Jacobsville sandstone, granite, and slate deposits are found in Baraga County, and Marquette County has gold deposits.

Early Settlement History

Indians of the Algonquin linguistic stock, including Chippewa, Ottawa, Potawatomi, and Menominee, and Huron (of the Iroquoian language group) were occupying the UP and surrounding areas when French explorers and missionaries became the first Europeans to inhabit the area in the seventeenth century (Dunbar 1995). Father Jacques Marquette, a Jesuit priest, founded the first mission in Michigan at Sault Ste. Marie in 1668 to minister to the Chippewa Indians. In 1671 Father Marquette started another mission at St. Ignace, serving the Huron and Ottawa. This French influence was followed by British occupation after the French and Indian Wars (1754-1761) and the Treaty of Paris in 1763. Although the area was ceded to the United States in 1783, it was not until after Jay's Treaty of 1794 that British control was finally relinquished at Detroit and Mackinac.

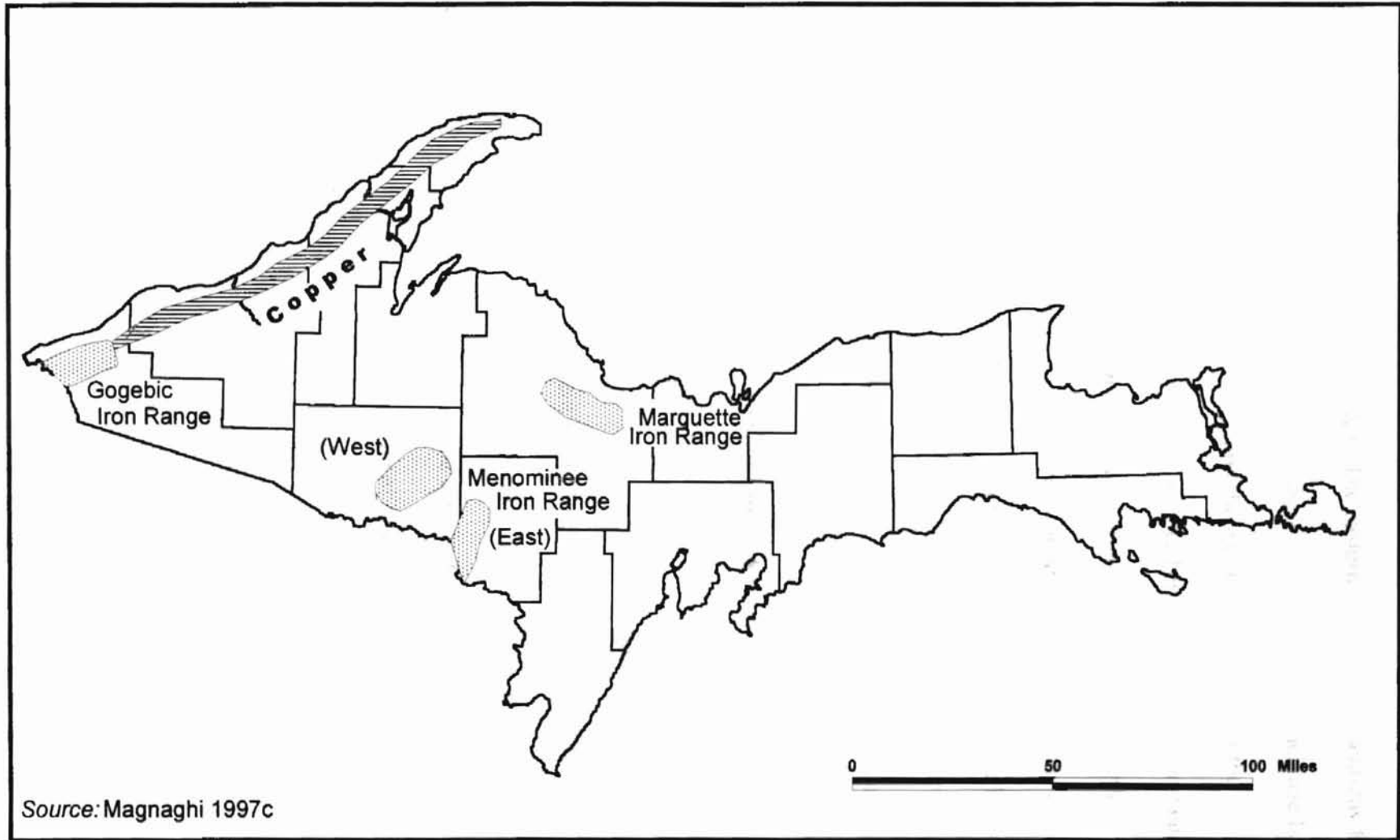


Figure 2. Iron and Copper Ranges in the UP.

The UP was included in the Northwest Territory in 1800. When Ohio became a state in 1803, the Northwest Territory was divided. The eastern portion of present-day lower Michigan plus a small area including Sault Ste. Marie, St. Ignace, and Mackinac Island of the UP remained in the Northwest Territory, and the western two-thirds of the UP and western half of lower Michigan became part of Indiana Territory. The United States Congress created Michigan Territory in 1805, with a boundary extending northward from the southern end of Lake Michigan to the international border. Therefore, the eastern tip of the UP was included in Michigan Territory, while the western UP remained part of Indiana Territory.

Kern (1977) points out that until 1807, Indians held all lands in Michigan except small areas around Sault Ste. Marie, St. Ignace, and Detroit. A government-operated trading post or “factory” was formed at Mackinac Island in 1808 where Indians could exchange furs for goods. This in part was an attempt to thwart British trading. However, the British captured Mackinac Island during the War of 1812. It was returned to the United States through provisions of the Treaty of Ghent in 1814. After the War of 1812, the fur trade on Mackinac Island was dominated by John Jacob Astor’s American Fur Company until the mid-1830’s when the center of the fur trade was further west (Dunbar 1995). The Cass Expedition of 1820 traveled the shoreline of Lake Huron to Sault Ste. Marie, then along the southern shore of Lake Superior. A geologist and a geographer were among the party, and their reports were later instrumental in the development of the UP. Another outcome of this expedition was the Treaty of Sault Ste. Marie, whereby Cass persuaded the Chippewa Indians to cede 16 square miles of land along the St. Mary’s River. The

central UP was ceded in 1836 through provisions of the Treaty of Washington and the Treaty of Cedar Point. The western UP was not ceded until the 1842 Treaty of La Pointe.

Meanwhile, the inhabitants of Michigan Territory initially petitioned for statehood in 1832, but Congress took no action. The territory then called a constitutional convention in May and June 1835. Congress refused to consider statehood for Michigan until resolution of the boundary dispute with Ohio over the "Toledo Strip," a 70 mile long piece of land that tapered from a width of 5 miles at the Indiana border to 8 miles at Lake Erie (Kern 1977). Meinig (1993) states that the misunderstanding was propagated by an inaccurate basemap; Kern (1997) declares that "in the Washington of the 1830's, political considerations could bend surveyors quadrants." Nevertheless, Congress offered statehood on conditional terms: that Michigan accept the western two-thirds of the UP as compensation for the loss of the Toledo Strip. Delegates who regarded the UP as a disadvantage initially rejected the compromise proposal in September 1836. Monetary benefits from the sale of public lands and a share of the US Treasury surplus led to a reconsideration of the vote when a second convention was called in December 1836. Thus, Michigan became the 26th state on January 26, 1837, on the condition that it annex the UP.

Twentieth Century Settlement

The UP falls within the Cutover Area, which was settled between 1850 and 1900, mainly by immigrants from the Upper Middle West and nineteenth century Europeans (Zelinsky 1992). Copper and iron mining began in the western UP during the 1840's, bringing immigrant workers to the mines (Dunbar 1995). Lumber and sawmill towns

flourished as outside concerns operated “cut-out-and-get-out” exploits (Trimble 1990). The area was essentially not suitable for agriculture because of the infertile soil and harsh climate (Williams 1990). After carelessly cutting the forests and leaving stumps and debris, the logging companies wanted to dispose of the cutover land to be free of the tax liability. The railroad companies also had an interest in attracting new settlers to the region, and the government’s concepts of “progress and improvements” did not warrant allowing the land to revert back to a state of wilderness. Thus, the three advertised the Cutover in America and Europe, particularly Scandinavia, as available farmland (Trimble 1990).

The Upper Peninsula, therefore, was settled by a mixture of ethnic backgrounds including French Canadians, English Canadians, English, Swedish, Norwegians, Finnish, Irish, Germans, and Italians. The labor requirements of the mining areas were particularly attractive to the immigrant, resulting in the creation of a surprisingly multi-ethnic milieu. For example, according to the 1870 census records, more than 70% of the population of Negaunee—located in the Marquette Iron Range—had immigrated, coming from more than 40 different countries (Demark 1997). At this time, the largest numbers came from Ireland, England (mainly Cornwall), Germany, and Canada. Nearby Ishpeming was inhabited by Irish, English, and Swedish immigrants.

It is difficult to utilize census records prior to 1900 for county level data of the UP. One reason is that as the area developed, the county boundaries and number of counties changed, until 1891 when the present county configuration was established. Comparisons are further complicated because it was not uncommon before 1900 to lump together several counties from the UP and the northern part of lower Michigan and report

them under one county. Therefore, this discussion mainly employs county census records after the initial settlement period, or data for the larger urban areas.

Among the first immigrants to the UP in the mid-1840's were Cornish miners, originally from Cornwall in southwestern England, where they had gained expertise in underground mining of tin and copper. The exact numbers of Cornish immigrants are unknown since census reports group all English immigrants together. While other immigrant groups soon overshadowed their numbers, the Cornish presence, nonetheless, had a great influence on the mining areas. It was essentially a case of the Doctrine of First Effective Settlement (Zelinsky 1973), where the initial settlers of an area have significant cultural implications for later development. Because the Cornish were generally the only workers with previous mining experience, they soon held a majority of supervisory "Captain" positions. In addition to mining, the Cornish impact extended to the introduction of the pasty, which served as a hearty lunch in the mines and was adopted by other miners.

The Italians also left an impact on the mining areas of the UP, although their numbers were not substantial. During the early twentieth century, the Italian population ranged from about 2% in Marquette County to 7% in Dickinson County. Nevertheless, a noticeable effect on food habits is evident in the Keweenaw area and western UP where Italian restaurants and bakeries are common. One unique item is the *cudighi*, a sandwich of Italian sausage, grilled onions and green peppers, mozzarella cheese, and sauce.

Finns arrived after 1890, and by 1910 they comprised the largest foreign-born ethnic group in the UP. Ninety-five percent of the 31,144 Finns in Michigan at the time of the 1910 census resided in the UP. Of the UP Finns, 11,536, or 37% of all Finns in Michigan

lived in Houghton County, while Marquette and Gogebic Counties were home to 16% and 12%, respectively, of Michigan's Finnish population. The UP is still home to many Finns. Loukinen (1997) reports that 1990 census figures indicate that while persons of Finnish ancestry account for only .03% of the national population, Finns make up 16.3% of the UP's population. In 1990, 51,214 of the UP's 313,915 residents were persons of Finnish ancestry, while Finns nationwide numbered 658,870. The greatest number of Finns (15,663) is in Marquette County, where they account for 22.1% of the county's total population. In Keweenaw County, 49.9% (848 of the 1701 inhabitants) are Finnish. Finns as a proportion of the total population number slightly more than 37% in Ontonagon and Houghton Counties, 34.6% in Baraga County, and 28.6% in Gogebic County. Finnish culture is preserved at the Suomi College and the Finnish-American Heritage Center in Hancock. An annual mid-winter "Heikinpäivä" festival includes a parade, tori (marketplace), folk concert, dance, outdoor events such as a polar bear swim and pesäpollo (Finnish baseball on snow shoes), and a Finnish buffet featuring such delicacies as smoked fish, reindeer, and leipäjuusto (squeaky cheese with cloudberry).

Magnaghi (1997c) recounts that 75% of Michigan's immigrants lived in the UP during the 1910 census enumeration. However, by 1920 this figure was reduced to 25%, as many workers flocked to industrial opportunities in the Detroit area. According to US Census records, the population of the UP peaked by 1920 with 332,556 inhabitants. Figure 3 reveals that as the population of the state has increased, the population of the UP has remained rather static. The UP was home to 261,362 of Michigan's 2,420,982 inhabitants in 1900, and 1998 census estimates list the UP with 310,518 of Michigan's 9,817,242 residents.

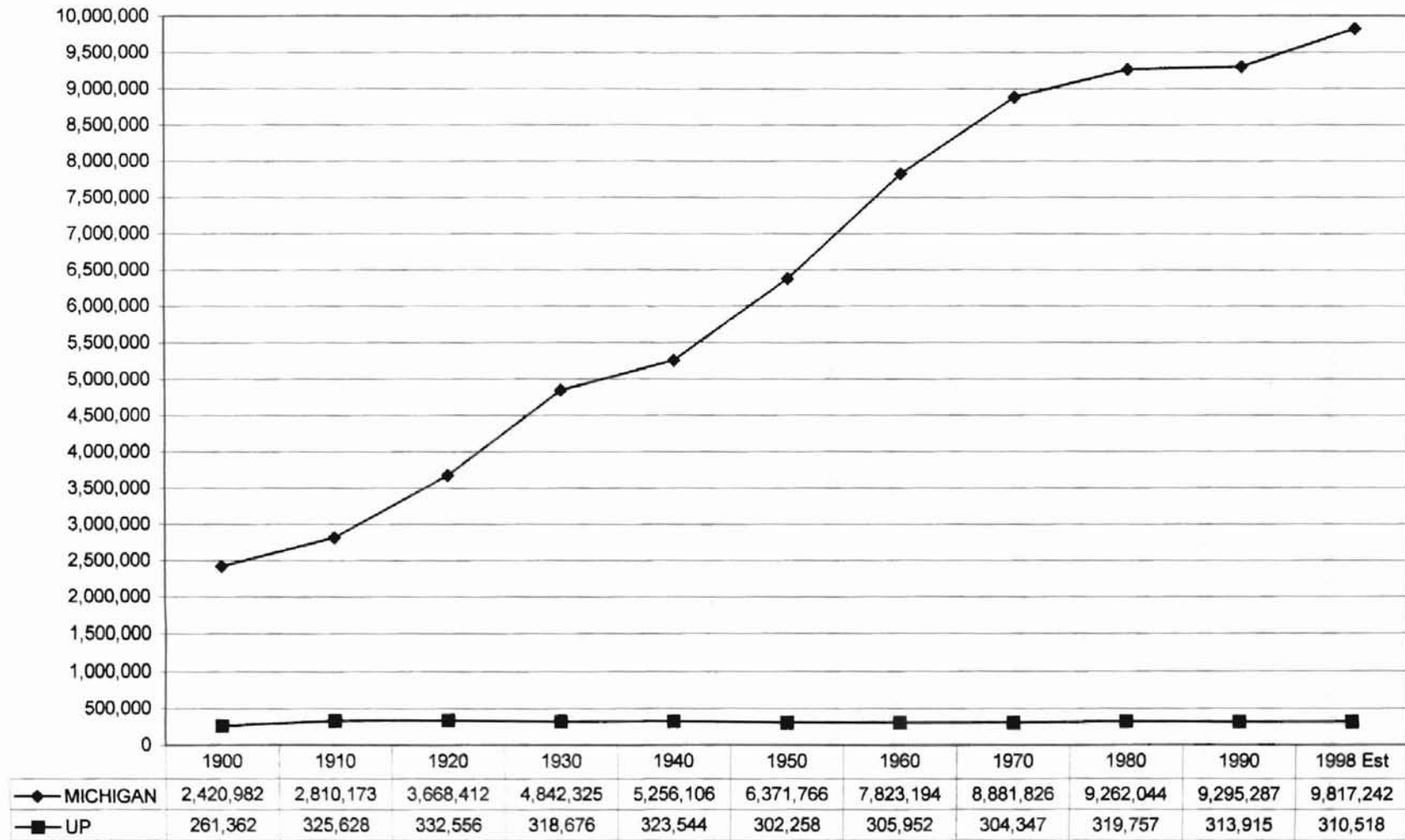


Figure 3. US Census comparisons of Michigan and the UP during the twentieth century.

Economy

While Guenther (1997) claims that the economic base of the UP has historically been associated with resource extraction (trapping, fishing, mining, logging), he suggests that it has evolved into a service economy. He notes that the manufacturing sector comprises approximately 1% of the UP's employment activity. Guenther argues that the Canada-US Free Trade Agreement (CUSFTA) and, to a lesser degree, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) have thus far had positive implications in the UP. This is not because of tariff reductions, but due to the increase in commercial traffic over the International Bridge at Sault Ste. Marie. By using the corridor across the UP, many routes are shortened. Likewise, routes between eastern and western Canada are shorter when traveling through the UP (Guenther 1997).

The economy of the UP has been affected by the closing of Air Force bases near Sault Ste. Marie and Marquette in 1978 and 1995, respectively. New ventures include the operation of prisons at the former Kinchloe Air Force Base and state mental hospital at Newberry. Two areas in the UP have been named as "Renaissance Zones" where no state or local taxes are imposed for a period of 15 years. One of these areas is located in Gogebic, Ontonagon, and Houghton Counties, and the other is in Marquette County at the site of the former K. I. Sawyer AFB (Michigan Economic Development Corporation 2000). Additionally, several Indian gaming casinos are operated in the UP.

As mines have closed over the years, the only ones remaining open are located in the Marquette Range. With more stringent environmental practices in force, logging activities, too, have diminished somewhat. The UP now has substantial areas of protected lands and forests. Besides state forests, parks, and wilderness areas, the UP

contains Isle Royale, a National Park; Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore; Mackinac Island State Park (formerly a National Park); Keweenaw National Historic Park; Seney Wildlife Preserve (95,000 acres); Ottawa National Forest (982,895 acres); and Hiawatha National Forest (860,000 acres). While tourism is by no means new to the economy of the UP (as early as the 1920's tourists sought the area's summer climate) recreational activities afforded by the environment produce economic opportunities. A state operated car ferry began operation across the Straits of Mackinac in 1923. Cars carrying vacationers, fishermen, and hunters would often be backed up for miles awaiting passage to the UP. In 1957 the Mackinac Bridge—a five-mile long suspension bridge—was completed, finally physically connecting the UP and the rest of Michigan. The International Bridge over the St. Mary's River at Sault Ste. Marie provided a link to Canada when it opened in 1962.

Many aspects of the UP's economy are seasonal. Although some businesses throughout the UP operate mainly during the summer vacation season, many businesses around ski areas are open only in the winter. During fieldwork research for this thesis, several restaurants were observed adjusting their hours or closing altogether during "slow times."

The tourism outlook of the UP involves such factors as acquiring the proper amount of snowfall at the opportune times, favorable hunting prospects, US/Canadian exchange rates, gasoline prices, and the nature of the economy in the industrial sectors downstate. While a strong economy is favorable for tourism, the Michigan State University Extension office (1998) advises that if the economy is too robust, people are likely to opt for more elaborate vacation settings.

Michigan State University

Conclusion

The historical geography of the UP reveals a colorful past, accumulating influences from an Indian culture, a French regime, an English regime, and ultimately an influx of immigrant workers. Surrounded by three of the Great Lakes and joining northeastern Wisconsin on the west, the Upper Peninsula was physically detached from the rest of Michigan until 1957. Major influences in the area include the climate, topography, and natural resources. The economy of the UP has undergone change, moving away from environmentally exploitative activities toward a service-based economy. The population pattern of the UP continues to reflect the development of the nineteenth and early twentieth century (Michigan Population Update 1997). The diverse cultural influences that have served to affect the UP combine to form an interesting blend of cuisines. This rich ethnic diversity is manifest in the study of its foodways, from the abundance of fish, wild rice, and berries, to such food items as the pasty, cudighi, sauerbraten, and pannakuku. Chapter 4 sets forth the methodology for such an investigation.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

Overview

The objective of this research is to map restaurant types, kinds and locations of ethnic restaurants, the distribution of pastry shops, and identify common menu items and architectural forms in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. To achieve this goal I use accepted techniques employed in other geographical studies to provide additional data on foodways research. Among the studies influencing the methodologies that were adapted for this investigation are those utilizing yellow page listings as a data source (Zelinsky, Roark, Kovacik, Brown, and Pillsbury), and the fieldwork techniques employed by Pillsbury, Brown, Manzo, and Milbauer. Arreola, Lohof, Langdon, Francaviglia, and Jakle and Sculle's techniques were useful for evaluating structures and architectural forms. Also considered were the cartographic techniques used in separate studies by Cartensen, Henderson, and Zelinsky, Milbauer's analysis of menus, Roark's examination of fast food establishments, and Zelinsky's emphasis on ethnic cuisines. This study also drew upon the restaurant classification systems used by Brown, Kovacik, and Pillsbury.

The research questions considered include:

- 1) What types of food service are available throughout the UP—in the urban areas, the smaller communities, and the tourist/recreational areas of the UP?

- 2) What is the predominant ethnic restaurant type in the UP, and what is the spatial distribution of ethnic restaurants in the UP?
- 3) How widespread is the distribution of the pasty in the UP?
- 4) Do restaurant menus reflect a pattern of traditional tastes?
- 5) What kinds of construction materials and what building types are commonly found in restaurants along the roadsides of the UP?

The study area includes the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, which is comprised of fifteen counties (figure 4).

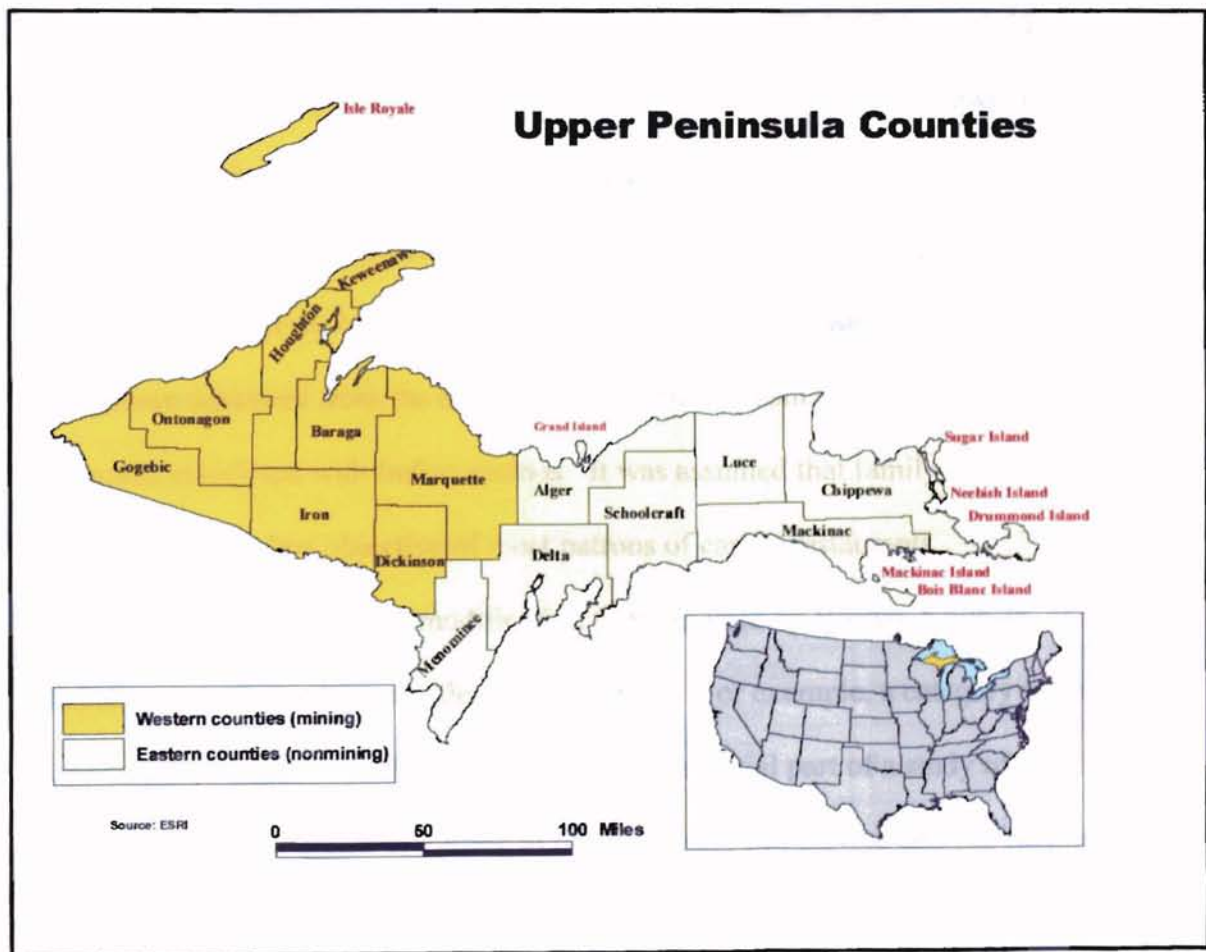


Figure 4. The study area—the Upper Peninsula of Michigan.

The shaded division depicts the eight western mining counties from the seven non-mining counties of the UP. This boundary roughly coincides with a geological boundary that divides the mountainous area of the west from the cedar swamps of the east. Does this difference in topography, economy, and ethnic settlement patterns affect food habits, or will results reveal a homogeneous UP?

Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary defines a restaurant as "a public eating place," and the *Dictionary of American Food and Drink* (Mariani 1994) describes a restaurant as "a dining room or other eatery where one pays for a meal." While taverns and inns were among the first establishments offering food service in America, Mariani maintains that serving food was a secondary activity for such businesses and that the idea of selling meals to the public is more recent. In accordance with this viewpoint, the UP establishments that were determined to be *primarily* bars, although serving food, were not included in this study. This determination was based upon visual observation. Many restaurants in the UP do have separate bar or lounge areas; however, bars do not have a dining room separated from the bar area. Also omitted from this investigation were three restaurants associated with Indian casinos. It was assumed that family dining was probably not the prime objective of most patrons of casino restaurants.

A classification system—a modification of those used by Brown, Kovacik, and Pillsbury—was devised to specifically suit the UP. For example, a category for pasty shops was not included in other studies, but is an essential part of a study of the UP. Restaurants were separated according to those offering full service and full menus, and the fast-food or "quick service" establishments with limited service/menus. Ethnic restaurants were subdivided based on cuisine. Ethnic cuisines encountered in the UP

included Chinese/Thai, Finnish, German, Greek, Italian, Mexican, Swedish, and Lebanese. Other full-service classification types include: (1) cafe/diners, typically those smaller businesses that advertise home-cooked meals, (2) family restaurants, generally with more seating, offering American cuisine plus a variety of entrees, (3) steakhouse/supper clubs, which are often open only for the evening meal, (4) seafood restaurants, and (5) fine dining—although sometimes the atmosphere is casual, these places offer chef-prepared cuisine. In addition to the ethnic restaurants, the limited-service classifications include: (1) pasty shops, (2) pizza, (3) hamburgers, (4) chicken, (5) sandwiches, (6) ice cream, and (7) barbeque. Whenever a business offered more than one type of food, such as pizza and subs, an effort was made to classify it by the predominant menu item. Table 1 outlines the classification system.

Table 1. Restaurant types.

Full Service/Menu	Limited Service/Menu
Ethnic	Ethnic
Chinese/Thai	Greek
Finnish	Italian
German	Mexican
Greek	Pasty
Italian	Pizza
Mexican	Hamburgers
Swedish	Chicken
Lebanese	Sandwiches
Cafe/Diner	Ice Cream
Family Restaurant	Barbeque
Steakhouse/ Supper Club	
Seafood	
Fine Dining	

Additionally, a tabulation of chain/franchise restaurants was compiled. A chain is a group of restaurants "linked" by a single ownership or management; a franchise involves a right to market a company's goods or services in a particular territory. While this study classifies a franchise or chain restaurant by type (such as family, hamburger, or chicken), the presence or absence of chains and franchises may prove to influence the cultural landscape of the area. According to Jakle and Sculle (1999:91), there are more chain and franchise restaurants than independent restaurants in the United States, and it is the chain/franchise restaurants that "collectively set the standards by which all restaurants tend to be judged." Preliminary fieldwork suggested that notable differences exist in the types of eateries found according to specific locale. Therefore, three categories of restaurants were surveyed in an effort to more fully depict the realm of eating possibilities across the UP.

The categories are as follows:

- 1) An *urban* sample of restaurants (sixteen towns with more than 2,500 residents)
- 2) A *rural* sample of roadside eating establishments encountered along three transects including US 2, US 41, and M 28
- 3) A special category of arbitrarily chosen restaurants around *tourist/recreational* areas of the UP

The urban places were included on the basis of having a population of at least 2,500, which complies with the Census Bureau's designation of an urban area. The three transects essentially connect the urban and rural areas of the UP. Whenever a transect passes through an urban area, the restaurants are tabulated in the urban category. Tourist/recreational areas were arbitrarily selected to include outliers and unique areas.

This category includes sites near state parks, ski areas, and lakes. The locations of the three categories are shown in figure 5. Appendixes A, B, and C provide a complete listing of restaurants included in this analysis.

Data Sources and Collection

A main objective of this study was the acquisition of information to develop a database to aid in analyzing the research questions. Data was collected from several sources. The population of UP towns was derived from US Census Bureau data to determine the *urban* category. Information providing insights into restaurant types, menu items, and specialties was gathered through telephone books, newspaper advertisements, and pamphlets. Electronic yellow pages were accessed to provide an initial database of restaurants in the urban areas, which in turn was verified and modified through fieldwork. Franchise/chain restaurants were identified with the *Directory of Chain Restaurant Operators* (Business Guides 1998).

Listings for several counties were acquired from District Health Departments, but I soon determined that fieldwork observation was the most practical way to include the restaurants along the *transects* and in the *tourist/recreational* areas. Using a differentially corrected Global Positioning System (DGPS), latitude/longitude readings were acquired for each restaurant encountered along a transect or in a tourist/recreational area, providing spatial data for mapping and analysis.

Menus were collected or studied at each rural and tourist/recreational site. This information was subsequently recorded in the database. I was able to check menus at all

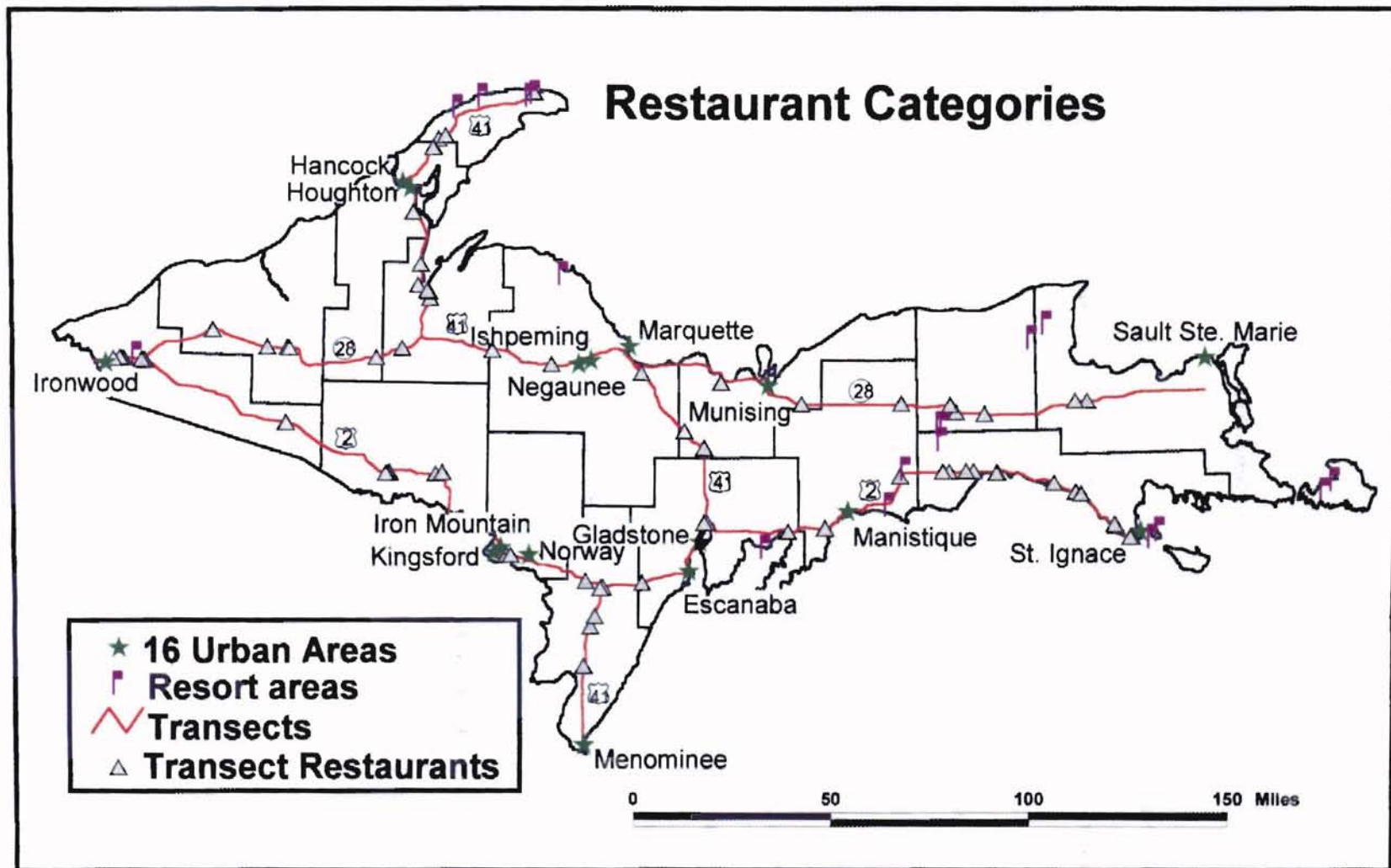


Figure 5. Locations of restaurants in the three categories included in the study.

but two establishments. All rural and tourist/recreational restaurants were photographed and cataloged for building type/material analysis.

Methodology

While data for this research was gathered in various ways, fieldwork observation was the primary method of data collection. Electronic yellow pages (www.yp.yahoo.com) were used to acquire restaurant listings for the sixteen urban areas, which were verified through fieldwork. It was found that a few of the restaurants listed in the yellow pages were out of business; some had changed names (and often types). Occasionally, a new or unlisted restaurant was discovered. Yellow page listings can be misleading; the name of a restaurant does not necessarily identify the type of restaurant. For example, Alice's is an Italian restaurant, Jim's Pizza offers much more than pizza, and several establishments with "lounge" in the name are actually family restaurants with a separate bar area.

A relational database was constructed with tables including menu items, building styles, urban restaurants, transect restaurants, and restaurants in tourist/recreation areas. A menu table was devised to identify foods that are most commonly available in the UP. One area of interest was the number and locations of restaurants serving pasties (in addition to pasty shops). Also included in the analysis were the number of establishments offering Friday fish fries, restaurants advertising "homemade" soups and pies, and the availability of pizza, liver and onions, steaks, fish dinners, fish sandwiches, corned beef, Mexican entrees, pasta, wing dings, chicken-fried steak, and alcohol.

Another table recorded construction types and materials for the rural and resort restaurants. Geographical analysis of restaurant architecture is limited; chain restaurants

have been examined by Langdon (1986), Jakle (1995), and Jakle and Sculle (1999). Francaviglia (1991) offers six criteria to consider in classifying commercial architecture, including (1) building orientation, (2) number of stories, (3) shape of facade (square, tall, or wide), (4) the relationship between solid walls and windows, (5) building materials, and (6) architectural detail. Due to the "house-like" appearance of many of the restaurants in the UP, the geographic literature concerning house types was also consulted for reference (Kniffen 1936, 1965, Rapoport 1969, Finley and Scott 1940, Lewis 1975, Glassie 1975, Shortridge 1980). Since each of these studies has a particular focus, the categorization criteria vary. However, geographical studies generally base the typology foremost on form or type of structure (Jakle, Bastian, and Meyer 1989). Other factors can include height, depth, facade materials and color, number and/or placement of chimneys, and ornamentation. The nature of the study can serve to indicate further subdivisions.

In this study, field notes and photographs of the restaurants were analyzed to classify building types. Three criteria were used in classifying the buildings, including *roof shape* (gable perpendicular to road, gable parallel to road, hipped, flat, barn, shed roof, and gambrel), *exterior building materials* (wood siding, logs, brick, stone, vinyl siding, composition materials, metal siding, stucco, cement blocks), and *color*.

The database, therefore, provides the basis for determining the answers to the research questions. Specific queries serve to reveal the number and distribution of the various restaurant types, menu items, and building types.

Conclusion

Methodologies used in previous studies were incorporated to accomplish the research objectives of this project. While fieldwork/observation provided a basis for much of the research, archival data, such as census reports, were also accessed. The data were compiled into a relational database which, in conjunction with a Geographical Information System (GIS), was queried for analysis and display purposes. The next chapter presents an in-depth analysis of the data.

CHAPTER V

DATA ANALYSIS

This chapter addresses the research questions outlined in chapter 1. This involved querying the database in order to assess the types of food establishments, distribution of ethnic restaurants, diffusion of the pasty, common menu items, and roadside restaurant landscape of the UP.

Eatery Types

One of my research questions involved examining the types of restaurants available throughout the UP—in the urban areas, the smaller communities, and the tourist/recreational areas. The classification system described in chapter 4 was used to determine the preponderance of different restaurant types in the UP. All restaurants in the 16 urban areas (a total of 342) were classified, as well as 101 roadside eateries along the 3 transects (57 on US 2, 25 on US 41, and 19 on M 28), and 18 tourist/recreational area establishments (see figure 5). As noted previously, appendixes A, B, and C provide a complete listing of the restaurants included in each of these categories. A summary of the percentages of eatery types encountered for each category is presented in table 2.

Although one might expect the urban category to provide the most variety in types of eating opportunities, the only restaurant types encountered solely in an urban area were one seafood restaurant and one barbeque establishment. On the whole, almost 49% of the

Table 2. Percentages of restaurant types by category.

Type	Urban Areas (n=342)	Transects (n=101)	Tourist Areas* (n=18)	UP Total (n=461)
<i>Full Service and Menu</i>				
Ethnic	13%	3%	6%	10%
Cafe/Diner	9%	43%	--	16%
Family Restaurant	24%	25%	50%	25%
Casual Fine Dining	5%	1%	44%	3%
Steakhouse/ Supper Club	5%	3%	--	4%
Seafood	<1%	--	--	<1%
<i>Limited Service and Menu</i>				
Ethnic	4%	1%	--	3%
Pasty Shop	6%	8%	--	6%
Pizza	11%	1%	--	8%
Hamburgers	13%	6%	--	10%
Chicken	2%	1%	--	2%
Sandwich	11%	5%	--	9%
Ice Cream	2%	4%	--	2%
Barbeque	<1%	--	--	<1%

Source: Fieldwork observation, percentages approximate.

*Tourist areas were arbitrarily chosen to depict the ambient atmosphere available in the UP. However, despite the small sample number, the lack of fast-food restaurants is due to the nature of these places, which invites a sit-down eating environment.

urban food establishments served “fast-food.” This breaks down to 13% hamburger stands, 11% each for pizza and sandwich shops, 6% pasty shops, and 4% ethnic eateries. At 24%, the family restaurant classification accounted for the single largest number of establishments in this category. The cafe/diner classification accounted for 9% of the urban category. Table 3 outlines statistics for each town in the urban category. The two least populated of the sixteen urban areas, Munising and St. Ignace, nevertheless have the highest proportion of restaurants per population (Munising 5 restaurants per 1000 inhabitants, St. Ignace 8.6 restaurants per 1000). St. Ignace also has the most fast-food restaurants (3.1 per 1000). This is undoubtedly due to its location at the entrance to the UP and its close proximity to Mackinac Island, as many of the St. Ignace restaurants are open only during the tourist season.

The cafe/diner is the predominant restaurant type along the three **transects**, making up 43% of the establishments in this category, as shown in table 2. Comparable to the incidence of family restaurants in the urban areas, 25% of the transect eateries are family type restaurants. Almost 26% of the roadside restaurants are fast food types—with pasty shops on US 2 comprising 8%, hamburger joints 6%, sandwiches 5%, and ice cream 4%. Table 4 further delineates the restaurant types found for each transect, showing that the cafe/diner is particularly prevalent on US 2, whereas the other transects have mostly family restaurants and cafe/diners. Pasty shops account for 14% of US 2s restaurants, but no pasty shops are found on US 41 or M 28. As the analysis of pasty shops in research question 3 will reveal, tourism near the Mackinac Bridge accounts for a large portion of this total. Figure 6 maps the spatial distribution and types of restaurants encountered along the three transects.

Table 3. Summary of urban area eateries.

Town	Population	Number Eateries	Number Ethnic	Number Fast-food	Eateries per 1000 Popn		
					All	Ethnic	FF
Marquette	19147	66	15	29	3.5	0.8	1.5
Sault Ste. Marie	15385	37	6	17	2.4	0.4	1.1
Escanaba	13280	42	5	23	3.2	0.4	1.7
Menominee	8689	19	5	9	2.1	0.6	1.0
Iron Mountain	8644	34	5	22	3.8	0.6	2.5
Houghton	7215	22	6	9	3.1	0.8	1.3
Ironwood	6300	18	2	7	2.9	0.3	1.1
Ishpeming	6129	15	2	6	2.5	0.3	1.0
Kingsford	5079	6	1	4	1.2	0.2	0.8
Gladstone	4609	11	--	4	2.4	--	0.9
Hancock	4518	6	3	--	1.3	0.7	--
Negaunee	4041	8	1	6	2.0	0.3	1.5
Manistique	3448	15	1	8	4.4	0.3	2.3
Norway	2962	7	1	4	2.4	0.3	1.4
Munising	2794	14	2	6	5.0	0.7	2.2
St. Ignace	2557	22	1	8	8.6	0.4	3.1
Totals	114,797	342	56	162	2.9	0.5	1.4

Sources:

Population: July 1, 1998 estimates from US Bureau of Census.

Data from electronic yellow pages (www.yahoo.com), confirmed by fieldwork.

Table 4. Transect restaurants by category.

Type	US 2 (n=57)	US 41 (n=25)	M28 (n=19)
<i>Full Service and Menu</i>			
Ethnic	4%	4%	--
Cafe/Diner	47%	36%	37%
Family Restaurant	11%	44%	42%
Casual Fine Dining	--	--	5%
Steakhouse/ Supper Club	4%	4%	--
Seafood	--	--	--
<i>Limited Service and Menu</i>			
Ethnic	2%	--	--
Pasty Shop	14%	--	--
Pizza	--	--	5%
Hamburgers	9%	--	5%
Chicken	2%	--	--
Sandwich	4%	8%	5%
Ice Cream	5%	4%	--
Barbeque	--	--	--

Source: Fieldwork observation, percentages rounded.

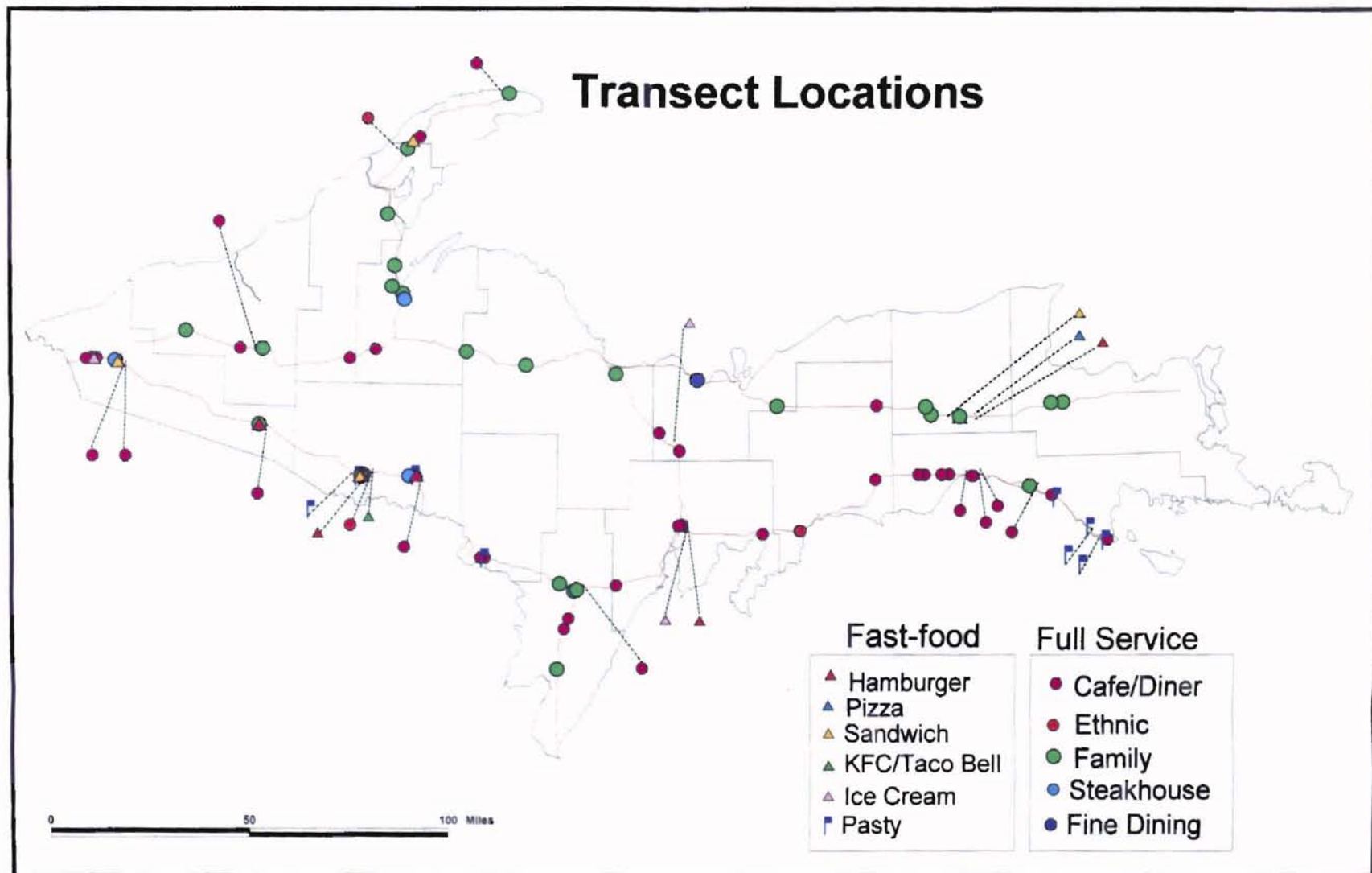


Figure 6. Type and distribution of restaurants in the transect category.

Only three types of eateries are included in the **tourist/recreational** category, with one restaurant serving German ethnic cuisine. Otherwise, family restaurants (50 %) and casual fine dining (44 %) are the available options. This is due to the nature of these areas, which are basically recreational and leisure destinations. The restaurants in this category were arbitrarily chosen, and were included to demonstrate the availability of casual fine dining outside the urban areas and to represent another aspect of the UP's foodways culture. These restaurants are plotted in figure 7.

The overall percentages indicate that one-fourth of the UP's food service is provided in a family restaurant setting. All in all, 16% of the UP sample is composed of cafe/diners. Ethnic eating establishments—full and limited—make up 13% of the total, and hamburger concerns comprise 10% of the UP's eating opportunities. The survey reveals that 40% of the eating venues in the UP serve fast-food (table 2).

One-third of the UP's urban restaurants are franchises or chains, while less than 9% of the restaurants along the transects are. Only one of the eighteen tourist/recreational restaurants—a small Big Boy stand at Tahquamenon Falls State Park—is a franchise. Over 26% of the UP restaurants surveyed are franchise or chains. Of these, more than one-third are hamburger franchises, 19% are pizza franchises, and 16% are sandwich franchises. With fifteen restaurants, McDonald's is the most frequently encountered franchise in the UP, followed by twelve Subways. Appendix D offers a listing of franchise/chain restaurants included in this study.

Tourist/Recreational Locations

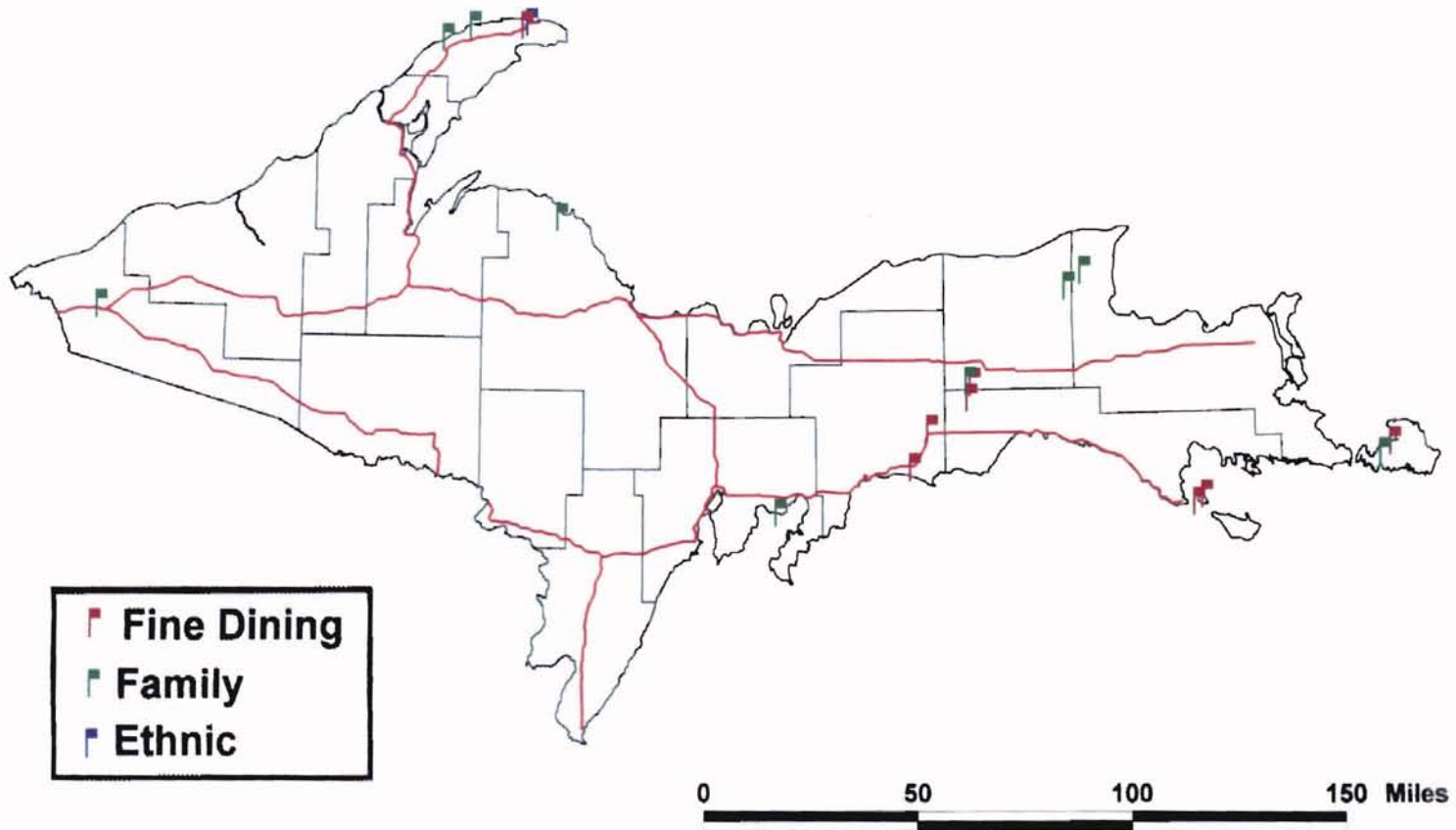


Figure 7. Type and distribution of restaurants included in the tourist/recreational category.

In summary, the classification and subsequent tabulation of restaurant types in the UP reveals that full service/menu and limited service/menu (or fast-food) restaurants are fairly evenly distributed in the urban areas, but along the transects a 3:1 ratio of full service/menu to limited service/menu types prevails. Among the resorts selected for inclusion in this investigation, full service and menu restaurants are dominant.

Urban areas and transects both had a variety of restaurant types—the main difference being the presence of one barbeque and one seafood establishment in the urban areas. (The lack of seafood restaurants, however, is not indicative of the area's pattern of fish consumption). Outlying the transect and urban areas, tourist/recreational areas are situated near venues such as lakes, ski resorts, and former private retreats. One of the eighteen restaurants offered German cuisine, while the others were divided between family restaurants (50%) and casual fine dining (44%).

Using Roark's 1985 study of fast-food restaurant types in eighty-eight metropolitan cities as a model, the UP urban areas have a comparably greater percentage of limited service/menu establishments (45% median) than the 29.4% median of Roark's sample. While fast-food restaurants are hardly found outside the urban areas along US 41 and M28, 35% of the restaurants on US 2 are fast-food. Of these, almost two-thirds are located on the western part of US 2. The majority of fast-food establishments on the eastern section of US 2 are Mackinac County pasty shops.

According to Jakle and Sculle (1999), chain restaurants are the trend across the United States, as they are more abundant than independently owned establishments. In the UP, however, only slightly over 26% of eating establishments are chains or franchises, and the independent restaurant accounts for a greater share, especially in the rural areas. The

low population density and nature of the economic base probably contribute to this lack of chains/franchises, as Roark found that fast-food types (which are generally franchise/chains) are most common in manufacturing areas.

Ethnic Eateries

A second research question addresses ethnic restaurants in the UP—the predominant types and the spatial distribution of these restaurants. Ethnic cuisines encountered in the UP include Chinese, Finnish, German, Greek, Italian, Lebanese, Mexican, and Swedish. The majority of the UP's ethnic restaurants are located in the urban areas, where they comprise 16% of the restaurant total. Approximately 38% of this amount (21 of 56) serve Chinese or Chinese/Thai cuisine, while Italian and Mexican restaurants make up 29% and 21%, respectively. Table 5 summarizes the ethnic restaurants in the urban areas. Marquette, the most populous area in the UP, also has the most ethnic restaurants, fifteen. However, when normalized by population, Houghton has about the same incidence of ethnic restaurants (Marquette 7.8 per 10,000, Houghton 8.3 per 10,000 population). Three-fourths of the urban ethnic restaurants are full service. The “fast-food” ethnic restaurants in the urban category present Mexican, Italian, and Greek fare.

Only 4% of the 101 transect restaurants are ethnic. Perhaps the scarcity of ethnic restaurants along the transects is due to the nature of the Mom-and-Pop cafes, which are low-investment concerns catering to locals as well as highway travelers. In their effort to appeal to a broad clientele, they offer a variety of basic menu items along with a few extras such as pizza, spaghetti, and taco salads. The ethnic restaurants along the transects

Table 5. Summary of ethnic restaurants in urban areas (Full service/Limited service).

	Chinese (F/L)	Finnish (F/L)	German (F/L)	Greek (F/L)	Italian (F/L)	Lebanese (F/L)	Mexican (F/L)	Swedish (F/L)	
Town									Totals
Escanaba	1/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	1/0	0/0	1/1	1/0	5
Gladstone	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0
Hancock	0/0	1/0	0/0	0/0	2/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	3
Houghton	2/0	1/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	1/0	1/1	0/0	6
Iron Mountain	1/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	2/1	0/0	0/1	0/0	5
Ironwood	1/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	1/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	2
Ishpeming	1/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	1/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	2
Kingsford	1/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	1
Manistique	1/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	1
Marquette	5/0	0/0	0/0	0/1	2/4	0/0	2/1	0/0	15
Menominee	4/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/1	0/0	5
Munising	1/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/1	0/0	2
Negaunee	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/1	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	1
Norway	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	1/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	1
Sault Ste. Marie	2/0	0/0	0/0	1/0	1/0	0/0	2/0	0/0	6
St. Ignace	1/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	1
Totals	21	2	0	3	16	1	12	1	56

Source: Electronic yellow pages and fieldwork.

include two Italian restaurants, one Taco Bell, and one German “haus.” Another German restaurant is categorized as tourist/recreational. No German restaurants were encountered in the urban areas. Altogether, ethnic eateries account for 13% of the UP restaurants represented in this study. The UP’s ethnic restaurants are charted according to type in figure 8.

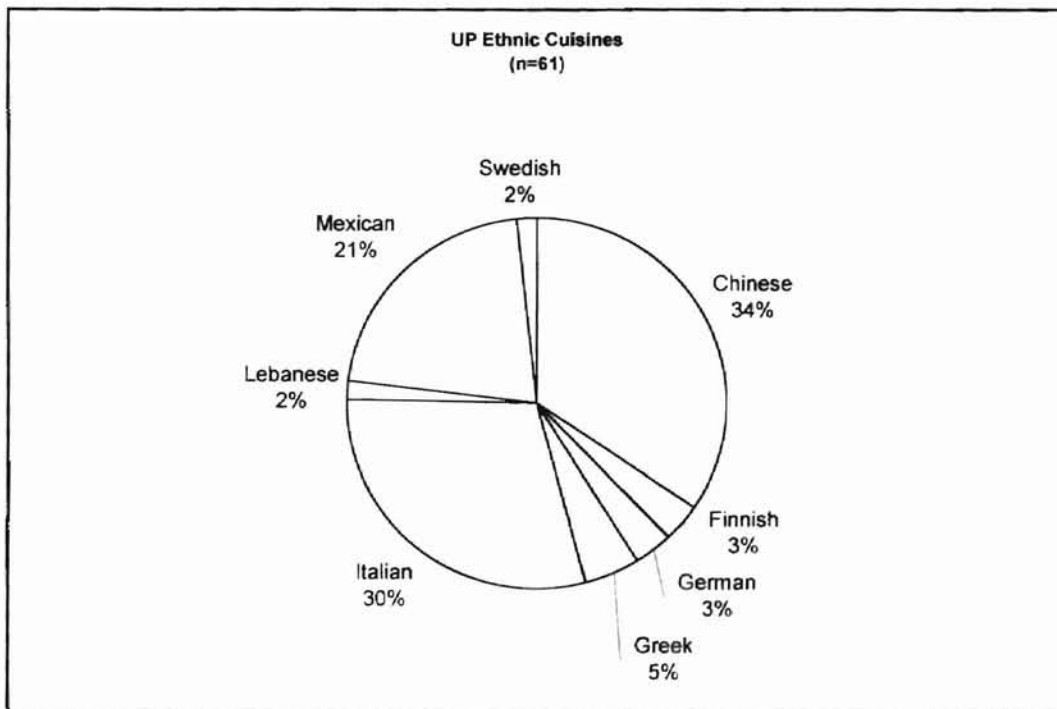


Figure 8. UP ethnic restaurants by type.

According to the US Census Bureau’s July 1998 estimates, 55.5% of the UP’s population resides in the western, or mining counties of the UP as designated in figure 4. The western UP also has 66% of the ethnic restaurants. Normalizing the number of ethnic restaurants to the population reveals that the western UP has 50% more ethnic restaurants than its eastern counterpart (2.3 ethnic restaurants per 10,000 people in the

mining counties versus 1.5 ethnic restaurants per 10,000 population in the non-mining counties).

Among the factors Zelinsky (1985) attributes to increased incidences of ethnic restaurants in an area are tourism, college communities, business visitors, and demographic and economic growth areas. While the latter two are not prominent factors in the UP, state universities are located at Houghton, Marquette, and Sault Ste. Marie. Indeed, Houghton and Marquette do rank highest in the number of ethnic restaurants per population. Interestingly, though, Sault Ste. Marie—a college community, one of Michigan's top tourist destinations, and in close proximity to Canada (which is especially receptive to ethnic restaurants)—nevertheless, has a relatively low occurrence of ethnic restaurants.

Italian ethnic restaurants comprise 30% of the total ethnic restaurants in the UP, compared to 21.7% for Zelinsky's metropolitan sample circa 1980. The UP, then, meshes with Zelinsky's assessment of a pattern of Italian restaurants in areas settled by Italian immigrants. Likewise, the occurrence of Chinese and Mexican cuisines in the UP compares to Zelinsky's finding of metropolitan ethnic cuisines.

Pasties

The third research question asks, "How widespread is the distribution of the pasty in the UP?" The origin of the word pasty is traced back to the Late Latin word, *pastata*, through Old French *paste*, and more recently Middle English *paste* (Magnaghi 1997b). Sokolov (1981) defines it as "dough," similar to modern terms such as pasta, pâté, and pâte, which imply moistened flour, or paste. This culinary product, which consists of

meat and vegetables in a thick pastry crust, was brought to the UP around 1850 by Cornish miners, and can also be found in other areas of the United States where the Cornish miners immigrated, such as Grass Valley, California and Butte, Montana (Magnaghi 1997b).

For the miner, the pasty provided a simple, but hearty meal. The pasty was soon adopted as a lunch staple by miners of other ethnicities, and it diffused across the UP. During this process, different cultural groups introduced changes, such as the Finns' use of carrots in place of rutabagas. The pasty was first sold at church pasty sales (Lockwood and Lockwood 1987). After World War II, the pasty was sold commercially in bars (Gabaccia 1998). Flakier crusts became popular when the pasty no longer was primarily carried down into the mines. In commercial settings, condiments like catsup or gravy were offered. More recently, changes to the pasty include healthful trends, for example, whole-wheat crust or vegetarian versions (Gabaccia 1998). It is now possible to purchase pasties via the internet. At an assisted-living home for the elderly in Calumet, the residents helped prepare vegetables for pasties sold in fund-raisers. The enterprise has since become incorporated, and sells about 20,000 pasties each year. The website (www.pasty.com) features a map plotting zip codes where pasties have been shipped in all fifty states.

Figure 9 displays the distribution of pasty shops and roadside restaurants serving pasties. While pasty shops comprise 6% of the UP's restaurants, pasties can be purchased in an additional 32% of the roadside eating establishments. Interestingly, the highest incidence of pasties encountered in the survey was in Mackinac County where pasties could be consumed at fifteen of the eighteen establishments, or 83%. Also, the

Pasties

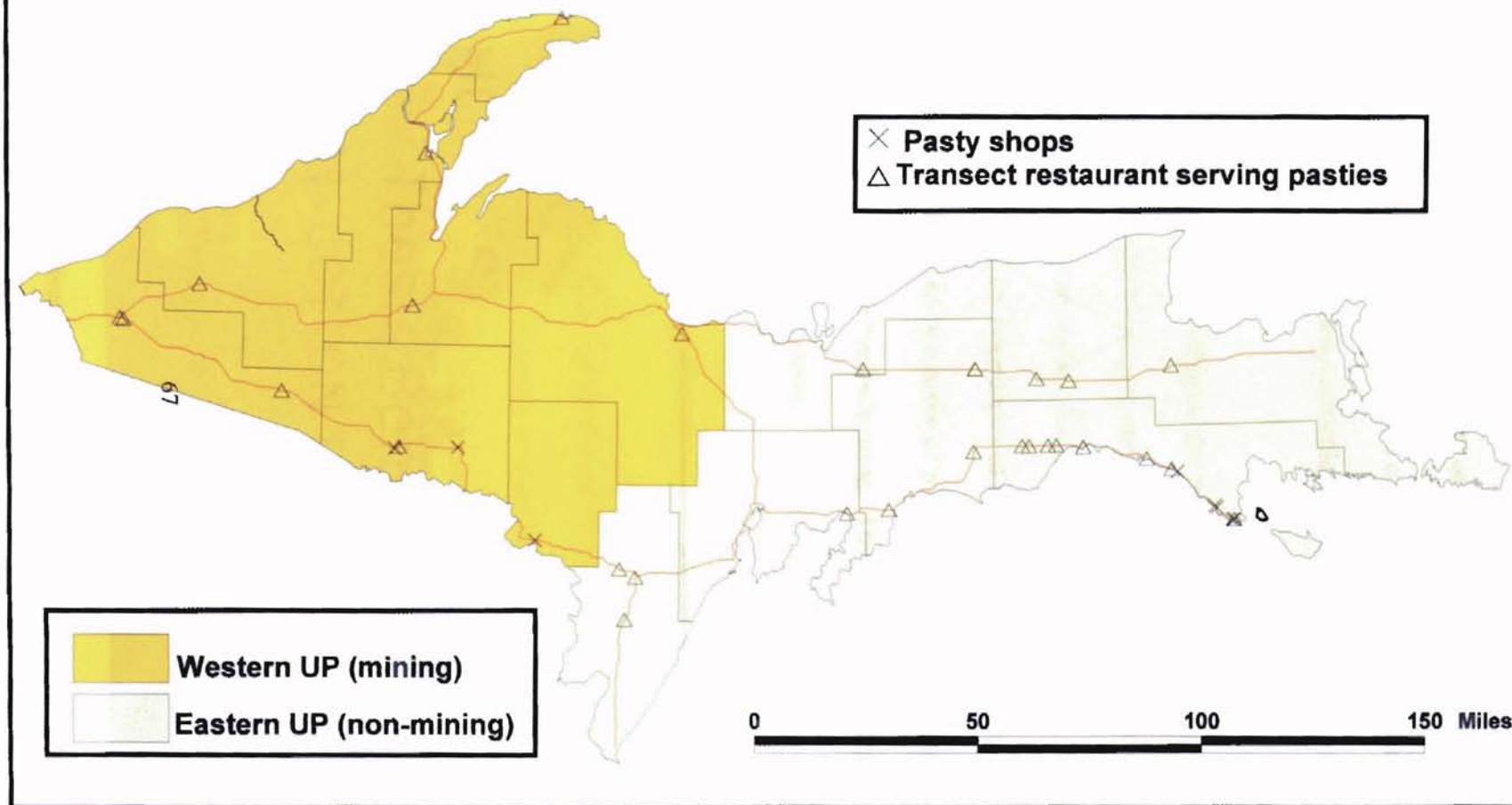


Figure 9. Location of pasty shops and transect restaurants serving pasties.

rural pasty shops are all located on US 2—five in the eastern UP and three in the western UP. Earlier studies report an even greater number of pasty shops than were found in this study. This decrease in the number of pasty shops could possibly be the result of the ready availability of pasties in restaurants, convenience stores, and grocery stores in the area.

Upon entering the UP from lower Michigan, the traveler along US 2 is greeted by trees, sand dunes, picturesque Lake Michigan, and pasty signs. Figures 10 and 11 are examples of typical Mackinac County sights. As indicated by this analysis, the pasty has definitely diffused beyond its original boundaries of the western mining areas to become a UP regional food symbol. The preponderance of pasty shops as one enters the UP from lower Michigan attests to this regional symbolization. The distribution of restaurants serving pasties further exemplifies this notion.



Figure 10. Lehto's Pasties. Just over the Mackinac Bridge the traveler to the UP starts seeing pasty signs.



Figure 11. Beaudoin's Cafe, a second and third generation Mom-and-Pop-and-Daughter operation located on US 2 in Mackinac County, offers pasties.

Menus

Do restaurant menus reflect a pattern of traditional tastes? Menus were analyzed for the transect and tourist/recreational restaurants in order to discern food preferences. A compilation of selected menu items from transect restaurants is outlined in table 6. Of the 101 restaurants along the transects, 67 offer homemade soup, and 60 serve homemade pie. Fish is commonly found on menus in the UP, in the form of fish sandwiches, fish dinners, and the popular Friday fish fry. The fish fry usually includes fried menominee or whitefish, french fries, and cole slaw. In addition to restaurants, fish fries are often sponsored by fraternal orders or used as fund raising events. The fish sandwich in the UP

is typically whitefish or cod; fish dinners generally feature whitefish, lake trout, walleye, or perch.

Table 6. Foods served at roadside restaurants in the UP.

Menu Item	Occurrence
Homemade Soup	67%
Homemade Pie	60%
Fish Sandwich	57%
Steak	49%
Fish Dinner	47%
Pasty	40%
Friday Fish Fry	40%
Corned Beef	39%
Wing Dings	38%
Mexican Entree	32%
Pasta	30%
Liver and Onions	29%
Pizza	23%
Alcohol	18%
Chicken Fried Steak	1%

n=101

As previously acknowledged, the pasty was on the menus of thirty-two restaurants in addition to the eight pasty shops located on US 2. Steak is on 49% of the roadside menus. While barbeque is relatively uncommon on UP menus, corned beef (beef cured in salt) is frequently offered on sandwiches, and corned beef hash is a staple on most breakfast menus. Wing dings, or spicy chicken wings, are the most common appetizer. About one-third of the roadside restaurants serve some form of Mexican entree (taco salad, burrito, nachos) or a pasta entree such as spaghetti or lasagna.

According to Pillsbury's (1999) regional model of contemporary diet regions, the foodways of the UP should reflect conservative preferences combined with ethnic

overtones. His model places the UP in a traditional zone influenced by the historic interaction of nineteenth century immigrants in the western UP.

This survey of menus in the rural roadside restaurants of the UP reveals that breakfasts consist of the normal fare found elsewhere in the United States—eggs, meat, potatoes, and bread. Also, such items as Swedish pancakes are listed occasionally. Quite frequently, however, the UP breakfast menu includes corned beef hash.

Coffee is a ubiquitous drink. Soft drinks are often referred to as “pop” and are likely to be served out of the can. Only 18% of the roadside restaurants in the UP serve alcoholic beverages, which may be due to the liquor laws which restrict the number of on-premise liquor licenses to one per each 1,500 or major fraction of 1,500 population per local government unit. These quotas, however, are sometimes superseded by the issuance of special resort licenses in certain cases where the tourist industry is involved (Michigan Liquor Control Commission 1991).

Soups are popular in the UP year around. Along with hamburgers, a typical roadside restaurant serves corned beef sandwiches, pizza, and pasties. Liver and onions and steak—T-bone, ribeye, sirloin, porterhouse, or New York strip—are found on menus in roadside restaurants as well as in tourist/recreational areas. In the western UP, one can order a cudighi or an Italian sub. Several establishments in the eastern UP offer buffalo meat. Mexican entrees are widely available, and pasta is available beyond the confines of the areas of Italian settlement.

Fish, especially fresh whitefish from the Great Lakes, is a typical UP menu item. At the roadside restaurants, the fish is often fried. Tourist/recreational restaurants are likely to serve fish prepared according to haute cuisine.

The most popular appetizer in the UP is wing dings. Other appetizers include fried mushrooms, mozzarella sticks, jalapeño poppers, and in the western UP—cheese curds. Ice cream is an UP favorite, and homemade pie is often available. Tourist/recreational restaurants generally offer cheesecake in a variety of flavors.

One notable exception to UP menus is the near absence of chicken fried steak. Mariani (1994) indicates that chicken fried steak has been a staple dish of the South, Southwest, and Midwest for decades. A website (<http://southernfood.tqn.com>) describes chicken fried steak as “beef, usually round steak, tenderized, dipped in a mixture of egg and milk, then dredged in seasoned flour and/or crumbs. It is then fried in hot oil, shortening, or drippings...similar to fried chicken.” It is served with a milk gravy and mashed potatoes. When coated with flour, without the egg mixture, it is also known as country fried steak. Three western UP restaurants near Wisconsin offer country fried steak, and only one UP menu actually lists chicken fried steak. Upon questioning, these entrees were described by waitresses as deep fried hamburger steak served with either brown gravy or mushroom gravy.

Construction Materials and Building Types

A final research question is concerned with the kinds of construction materials and building types found in restaurants along the roadsides of the UP—the roadside restaurant’s imprint upon the landscape. While franchise restaurants have transformed the landscape in other areas with a standardized look (Jakle 1995), only 8 of the 101 transect restaurants are franchise/chain establishments. These franchises include two Dairy Queens, two Subways, a McDonald’s, Pizza Hut, Taco Bell, and KFC. Three

criteria were considered in assessing the ninety-three independently owned buildings: exterior materials, roof orientation, and color. Since it is not uncommon for a UP roadside restaurant to be a conglomeration of materials, rooflines, and/or colors, the *predominant* type was recorded. The results of this assessment are listed in table 7, and tend to reflect Langdon's (1986) definition of vernacular design: "the straight-forward construction characteristic of ordinary people, functional and un-selfconscious, dictated by the need for economy, rather than by sophisticated cultural aspirations."

Table 7. Building materials, rooflines, and color of roadside restaurants in the UP.

Material		Roof style		Color	
Wood siding	29%	Front gable	27%	Tan	30%
Vinyl siding	17%	End gables	27%	White	22%
Metal	15%	Mansard	17%	Brown	20%
Stucco	10%	Flat	16%	Blue	10%
Composite materials	9%	Hipped	4%	Gray	5%
Concrete blocks	8%	Gambrel	4%	Green	5%
Log	6%	Shed	3%	Yellow	4%
Brick	4%	Barn	1%	Orange	1%
Stone	2%			Red	1%
				Rust	1%

n=93

Wood siding is the most common exterior building material (29%), followed by vinyl siding (17%) and metal (15%). Stucco, composite materials, cement blocks, logs, bricks, and stone are used less frequently. Front-facing gables and end gables each comprise 27% of the roof types, while 17% of the buildings have mansard roofs and 16% are flat. Other roof types encountered were gambrel, hipped, shed, and one barn-like structure. About 6% of the buildings have a false-front facade. Thirty percent of the restaurants are

tan in color, 22% are white, and 20% are brown. Other roadside restaurant colors found in the UP include blue, gray, green, yellow, and one each orange, red, and rust.

Thus, it would appear that the “typical” roadside restaurant in the UP is tan, with wood siding and either front or end gables. In reality, however, only one restaurant actually fits all three of the criteria for such a model. There is in fact no typical roadside restaurant building. For example, the nine brown wood-sided buildings have five different roof styles, and of the tan buildings, seven are made of metal, six are stucco, and five have vinyl siding, again with a variety of roofs. Examples of the UP’s restaurant landscape are portrayed in figures 12 through 19.



Figure 12. The Bark River Cafe is a stone building with a false front. Bark River, MI is on US 2 in the central UP.



Figure 13. The Hub Cafe is a green metal building with white vinyl siding covering the upstairs living quarters. This restaurant is on US 41.



Figure 14. Udder Delite—an ice cream stand on US 41 near Trenary, MI—shares the white cement block building with a meat processing plant.



Figure 15. Crystal Falls Drive-In, on US 2 in Crystal Falls, MI, is also made of cement blocks. A rooster stands atop the flat roof.



Figure 16. Dee's Pit Stop is a portable sandwich shop on US 2 in Gogebic County.



Figure 17. The Mariner North can be found at the northern-most extent of US 41, in the Keweenaw Peninsula.



Figure 18. Redwood Junction Restaurant is near the junction of US 2 and US 41. It has brown wood siding.



Figure 19. Day Star Restaurant is one of several former drive-ins that have been converted to a sit-down restaurant. It is located in Menominee County on US 41.

According to Langdon (1986), “a building’s profile is used as an advertisement tool.” He further suggests that menus and service expectations can be deduced from the exterior of a restaurant. The assessment of restaurant types has shown that the franchise restaurants in the UP are clustered in the urban areas. The roadside restaurant landscape is a mixture of individually owned Mom-and-Pop type vernacular buildings rather than a standardized cultural landscape. These businesses often involve a minimal investment; conversation with one entrepreneur revealed a feeling that many small business owners in the UP are prone to enhance their personal living standard rather than re-invest profits in the business. As a result, restaurants are often unpretentious, utilitarian buildings.

On the other hand, the proprietor of a tourist/recreational facility is likely to be concerned with conveying a certain atmosphere. Several owners have been transplanted from metropolitan areas, bringing with them cosmopolitan influences. Restored

buildings and log structures are popular types in this category (figures 20-22).



Figure 20. Chamberlin's Ole Forest Inn, a bed and breakfast located on Manistique Lake in the eastern UP, was built in the late 1800's as a passenger hotel for the Manistique Railroad.



Figure 21. Thunder Bay Inn was a lumber town warehouse before Henry Ford bought the operation and converted it into a retreat. In 1959, *Anatomy of a Murder* was filmed here.



Figure 22. Fischer's Old Deerfield Inn is situated on a small lake near Gulliver, MI in Schoolcraft County.

Conclusion

The cultural convergence hypothesis assumes that places are becoming more homogeneous due to technological advances in transportation and communication (Zelinsky 1970). Arguments can be presented that some of the food habits of the UP are indeed becoming more convergent. For example, the familiar hamburger franchises that are found in the UP's urban areas are ubiquitous to most other urban areas of the United States, and even other parts of the world. Remnants of 1950's popular culture are evident in some of the drive-ins that have since been converted to sit-down restaurants. Some menu items, such as wing dings, mozzarella sticks, and fried mushrooms, reflect the influence of the commercial food service providers. Conversely, some UP menu items

are not commonly found in other areas (pasties, cudighi, whitefish). Outside of the urban areas, there is an absence of standardized restaurant buildings.

The settlement patterns, climate, topography, and economy contribute to the distinctiveness of the UP. Francaviglia (1991) points out that it is the nature of mining areas, although often isolated, to have cosmopolitan attributes. As mining activities have ceased, many of the former cultural influences are still apparent. Although some convergence has transpired in the UP, as in the case of the pasty, the eastern and western portions of the UP are still quite heterogeneous. While the food habits of the UP as a whole are in some ways becoming more contemporary, the area also has foodways that are unique from those encountered in other places.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS

The fieldwork for this study was carried out periodically between December 1998 and August 1999. The findings, therefore, represent a snapshot of this time period. During this short duration, a few changes did transpire, but the restaurant geography of the UP is by no means similar to Pillsbury's analogy of the restaurant scene in Atlanta, Georgia, where "restaurants appear and disappear like mushrooms after a rain." Innovation and change are not foreign to the UP, but in many instances this change occurs at a rather slow pace.

The objective of this study was to analyze the geography of restaurants in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. This included classifying restaurant types, plotting the kind and distribution of ethnic restaurants, tracing the use of the pasty as a cultural symbol, exploring menu items, and examining the buildings that house the restaurants. This was accomplished by compiling a database and analyzing the relevant factors. The literature review was invaluable in developing the framework for this study. Also, the historical geography section provided important background information concerning the physical geography, settlement, and economy of the UP. A discussion of the conclusions and recommendations for further research follows.

Conclusions

One finding of this research indicates that a smorgasbord of dining opportunities is available in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. Although the area may be “off the beaten path,” it is not completely “out of touch” with the rest of the world. The fast-food and franchise restaurants are concentrated mainly in the urban areas. The rural areas feature Mom-and-Pop venues, while tourist/recreational establishments cater to ambience. All in all, the family restaurant is the dominant restaurant type in the UP, followed by cafe/diners and a combination of fast-food venues.

This study also confirms that the UP’s ethnic cuisine mirrors the national scene per Zelinsky, with Chinese, Italian, and Mexican eateries composing the bulk of this type. The distribution is primarily in the urban areas. With German and Scandinavian eateries reflecting the population base, the UP is apparently one of the isolated exceptions that Zelinsky (1985) refers to where ethnic geography shapes the regional restaurant cuisine.

The pasty has indeed spread beyond its initial introduction point in the western mining areas of the UP, being brought there in the mid-1800’s by the Cornish miners. After being adopted and modified by other miners, the pasty was soon sold in church fundraisers, and eventually was served in bars. As the economy turned to tourism, pasty shops proliferated. Restaurants, too, began offering pasties. The pasty has undergone a diffusion process in the UP, and in turn has become a regional culinary symbol.

Menus in the UP reflect a sense of region beyond traditional Midwestern tastes with the abundance of pasties and fish. The absence of chicken fried steak is also a diversion from some Midwestern menus. The rural menus are mostly traditional, often lagging in

conversion to health-conscious choices. The tourist/recreational areas, however, tend to feature more cosmopolitan or contemporary cuisines.

The roadside restaurants in the UP are a *mélange* of vernacular building styles, materials, rooflines, and colors. Jakle's "place-product-packaging" concept does not relate to most of the UP outside the confines of the few urban areas. Buildings providing ambience can also be found, especially in the larger urban areas and tourist/recreational spots.

All in all, the UP conforms to assessments generated by broad studies of Zelinsky (1985) and Pillsbury (1999). Conservative, traditional tastes are indeed prevalent in the roadside eateries, but the influences of nineteenth century immigrants are also apparent throughout the UP. More recent in-migration of early retirees and young families seeking life away from the suburbs has undoubtedly impacted the foodways of the UP. This is especially evident in the tourist/recreational areas where more eclectic menus reflect the urban food trends. Given the sparse population and at times remote locations, the UP has a wide range of eating opportunities, including a number of excellent dining experiences.

Recommendations for Further Research

Since social/cultural change can be measured through the study of foodways, I suggest that it may be prudent to revisit some of the previous works (e.g. Zelinsky) to monitor any pattern changes that may have occurred in the twenty years since his data was collected. Additionally, other regions should also be studied to furnish a basis for comparisons and baseline studies for future temporal investigations. More extensive studies such as following a transect across the United States also presents many

interesting possibilities. By developing a comprehensive geography of restaurants over the United States, further insights may be gained pertaining to the intricacies that food habits and preferences convey. It is hoped that this look at the UP and its restaurants will whet the appetite for other such geographic endeavors.

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APPENDIX A

Urban Area Restaurants in Study

Urban Area	Restaurant	Type
Escanaba	House of Ludington	Fine Dining
	Bobaloon's	Sandwich
	The Pasty Shop	Pasty
	Alexander's Lounge	Cafe/Diner
	Gram's Pasties	Pasty
	Country Kitchen	Family Restaurant
	Buck Inn	Family Restaurant
	Burger King	Hamburger
	Carriage Restaurant	Family Restaurant
	Crispigna's	Italian
	D & M Subs	Sandwich
	Dell's Supper Club	Steakhouse
	Dobber's Pasties	Pasty
	Domino's Pizza	Pizza
	Downtowner Restaurant	Cafe/Diner
	Drifter's Restaurant	Family Restaurant
	Elmer's Restaurant	Family Restaurant
	Ferdinand's Mexican Restaurant	Mexican
	Hardee's	Hamburger
	Hereford & Hops	Steakhouse
	Jade Garden Restaurant	Chinese
	Jensen's Pasty Shop	Pasty
	Just Burgers	Hamburger
	KFC	Chicken
	Little Caesar's Pizza	Pizza
	Main Street Cafe	Cafe/Diner
	McDonald's	Hamburger
	McDonald's	Hamburger
	Drury Lane Bakery & Cafe	Sandwich
	Mueller's Pizza Place	Pizza
	Pizza Hut	Pizza
	Ranch Steak & Seafood	Steakhouse
	Spucky's	Sandwich
	Stonehouse Restaurant	Steakhouse
	Sub Shop	Sandwich
	Subway	Sandwich
	Sully's Sandwiches	Sandwich
	Swedish Pantry	Swedish

	Taco Bell	Mexican (Limited)
	Tommy's Restaurant	Cafe/Diner
	Trapper's Restaurant	Family Restaurant
	Wendy's	Hamburger
Gladstone	Dairy Flo	Ice Cream
	D & M Subs	Sandwich
	Delona Restaurant	Family Restaurant
	Dew Drop Inn	Family Restaurant
	Four-J's Family Restaurant	Family Restaurant
	Log Cabin Supper Club	Steakhouse
	McDonald's	Hamburger
	McDonald's	Hamburger
	Reflections	Cafe/Diner
	Stagecoach Lounge	Family Restaurant
	Terrace Bay Inn	Family Restaurant
Hancock	Gemignani's	Italian
	Gino's Restaurant	Italian
	Jim's Pizza of Hancock	Family Restaurant
	Kaleva Cafe	Finnish
	Nutini's Supper Club	Steakhouse
	Portage Landing Restaurant	Family Restaurant
Houghton	Ambassador Restaurant	Family Restaurant
	Armando's Inc.	Family Restaurant
	Burger King	Hamburger
	Domino's Pizza	Pizza
	Downtowner Lounge	Cafe/Diner
	Hardee's	Hamburger
	Hunan Garden	Chinese
	KFC	Chicken
	Library Restaurant	Family Restaurant
	Little Caesar's Pizza	Pizza
	Los Dos Amigos	Mexican
	Marie's Deli	Lebanese
	McDonald's	Hamburger
	Ming Garden Chinese Restaurant	Chinese
	Northern Lights Restaurant	Family Restaurant
	Perkins Family Restaurant	Family Restaurant
	Pilgrim River Steakhouse	Steakhouse
	Pizza Hut	Pizza
	Suomi Home Bakery & Restaurant	Finnish
	Taco Bell	Mexican (Limited)
	June's Hillside Restaurant	Cafe/Diner

Iron Mountain

Hirsch's West	Family Restaurant
The Moose Jackson Cafe	Cafe/Diner
A & W Family Restaurant	Hamburger
B's Country Cafe	Cafe/Diner
Burger King	Hamburger
China Gardens	Chinese
Country Kitchen	Family Restaurant
Dobber's Pasties	Pasties
Domino's Pizza	Pizza
Fontana's Supper Club	Italian
Gathering Place	Cafe/Diner
Hardee's	Hamburger
Holiday Kitchen Restaurant	Family Restaurant
KFC	Chicken
Little Caesar's Pizza	Pizza
McDonald's	Hamburger
Pizza Hut	Pizza
Ranch Steak & Seafood	Steakhouse
Blimpie Subs & Salads	Sandwich
Bruttomesso's Pizzeria	Pizza
Romagnoli's	Italian
Damian's Pasta Works	Italian (Limited)
Storheim's	Sandwich
Sub Shop	Sandwich
Subway	Sandwich
Subway	Sandwich
Taco Bell	Mexican (Limited)
Toddy's Pasty Shop	Pasties
Wendy's	Hamburger
Gleason's 1891 Restaurant	Family Restaurant
Jean Kay Pasty Shop	Pasty
Pizza Perfecta	Pizza
Main Street Pizza	Pizza
Premiere Center	Family Restaurant

Ironwood

Al's Kenmar Cafe	Cafe/Diner
Angelo's Pizza	Pizza
Ben's Place	Cafe/Diner
Country Kitchen	Family Restaurant
Don & GG's	Family Restaurant
Elias Brother's Big Boy	Family Restaurant
Elk & Hound Restaurant	Fine Dining
Golden Heart	Chinese
Joe's Pasty Shoop	Pasties
KFC	Chicken
Little Caesar's Pizza	Pizza

	Mama Get's	Family Restaurant
	McDonald's	Hamburger
	Mike's Restaurant	Family Restaurant
	Pizza Hut	Pizza
	Rigoni's Inn	Italian
	Subway	Sandwich
	Tracy's Uptown Cafe	Cafe/Diner
Ishpeming	The Blue Star Cafe	Cafe/Diner
	Aunty's Cafe	Cafe/Diner
	Blimpie's Subs & Salads	Sandwich
	Buck's Restaurant	Cafe/Diner
	Buck's Subs	Sandwich
	Burger King	Hamburger
	Country Kitchen	Family Restaurant
	Happy Panda Restaurant	Chinese
	Hoist-West	Family Restaurant
	Jasper Ridge Brewery	Family Restaurant
	Lawry's Pasty Shop	Pasties
	Mama Mia's Italian Restaurant	Italian
	McDonald's	Hamburger
	Peggy Sue's Cafe	Cafe/Diner
	Pizza Hut	Pizza
Kingsford	Blind Duck Inn	Family Restaurant
	Burger King	Hamburger
	Dairy Queen	Ice Cream
	Peking Chinese Restaurant	Chinese
	Pizza Oven	Pizza
	Prime Pasty King	Pasties
Manistique	Bob's Big Boy	Family Restaurant
	Clyde's Drive-In	Hamburger
	D & D Subs	Sandwich
	Emerald City Espresso Coffee	Cafe/Diner
	Fireside Inn	Steakhouse
	Harbor Inn	Cafe/Diner
	Hardee's	Hamburger
	Main Street Pizza	Pizza
	The Upper Crust Cafe	Sandwich
	Dairy Kream	Ice Cream
	Pizza Hut	Pizza
	Subway	Sandwich
	Sunny Shores Restaurant	Family Restaurant
	Three Mile Supper Club	Steakhouse
	Yang Vang Chinese Restaurant	Chinese

Marquette

Jim Bob's Pasty Shop	Pasties
Upper Crust Pizza	Pizza
Hudson's Classic Grill	Family Restaurant
Simply Sweets & Salads	Sandwich
Tiroler Hof Red Eagle Restaurant	Family Restaurant
Pasta Shop	Italian (Limited)
Jean-Kay's Pasties & Subs	Pasties
The Chalet Restaurant	Family Restaurant
Ralph's Italian Deli	Italian (Limited)
Westwood Restaurant	Family Restaurant
Big Boy	Family Restaurant
Blimpie Subs & Salads	Sandwich
Bob's Big Boy	Family Restaurant
Bonanza	Steakhouse
Border Grill	Mexican
Burger King	Hamburger
Casa Calabria Restaurant	Italian
Coachlight Restaurant	Family Restaurant
D's Kitchen and Karma Cafe	Cafe/Diner
Domino's Pizza	Pizza
Garden Room Restaurant	Family Restaurant
Godfather's Pizza	Pizza
Great Hunan Chinese Restaurant	Chinese
Hardee's	Hamburger
Hardee's	Hamburger
Harley's	Family Restaurant
Village Cafe	Cafe/Diner
Hungry Howie's Pizza & Subs	Pizza
Internet Bagel Cafe	Sandwich
Jean-Kay's Pasties & Subs	Pasties
KFC	Chicken
Lake Superior Pizza	Pizza
Lawry's Pasty Shop	Pasties
Little Caesar's Pizza	Pizza
Mancino's Pizza & Grinders	Pizza
Mandarin Garden	Chinese
McDonald's	Hamburger
McDonald's	Hamburger
My Place	Family Restaurant
New York Deli	Italian
Northwoods Supper Club	Steakhouse
Papa Paul's	Pasties
Pasta Shop	Italian (Limited)
Pizza Hut	Pizza
Heritage Room	Fine Dining
Portside Inn	Family Restaurant

	Red Lobster Restaurant	Seafood
	Rice Paddy	Chinese
	Santa Fe Marquette	Mexican
	Shores Restaurant & Lounge	Steakhouse
	Sky Room	Family Restaurant
	Steer & Stein	Steakhouse
	Subway	Sandwich
	Subway	Sandwich
	Sweet Water Cafe	Family Restaurant
	Szechuan Chinese & Thai Restaurant	Chinese
	Taco Bell	Mexican (Limited)
	Three Happiness Chinese Restaurant	Chinese
	Togo's Submarine Sandwich Shop	Sandwich
	Togo's Submarine Sandwich Shop	Sandwich
	Vango's Pizza & Cocktail	Greek
	Vierling Saloon & Sample Room	Family Restaurant
	Villa Capri Italian Cuisine	Italian
	Wendy's	Hamburger
	Whisker's	Family Restaurant
	Wahlstrom's Restaurant	Family Restaurant
Menominee	Becka's Diner N Dairy Treat	Cafe/Diner
	Burger King	Hamburger
	Chang's Gardens	Chinese
	Col K's Pasty Shop	Pasty
	Downtown Sandwich & Ice Cream	Sandwich
	Harbor House Cafe	Sandwich
	KFC	Chicken
	Landing Restaurant	Family Restaurant
	McDonald's	Hamburger
	Number 1 Chinese Restaurant	Chinese
	Whistle Stop	Steakhouse
	Pat & Rayleen's Restaurant	Family Restaurant
	Pizza Hut	Pizza
	Regent Chinese Restaurant	Chinese
	Roadhouse Grill	Cafe/Diner
	Schlöegel's Bay View Restaurant	Family Restaurant
	Subway	Sandwich
	Taco Bell	Mexican (Limited)
	Thai Cuisine	Chinese
Munising	Forest Inn	Steakhouse
	Hardee's	Hamburger
	North Light Landing	Family Restaurant
	A & W Family Restaurant	Hamburger
	Dairy Queen	Ice Cream

	Dogpatch Restaurant	Family Restaurant
	Golden Heart Chinese-Thai	Chinese
	Main Street Pizza	Pizza
	Papino's	Cafe/Diner
	Navigator	Family Restaurant
	Shooters	Family Restaurant
	Subway	Sandwich
	Sydney's Restaurant	Family Restaurant
	Taco Bell	Mexican (Limited)
Negaunee	Airport Restaurant	Family Restaurant
	Beef-A-Roo	Hamburger
	Gramma T's Pasties	Pasties
	Kirkwood Cafe	Cafe/Diner
	Paisano's Pizza	Pizza
	Porky's	Barbeque
	Sub Station	Sandwich
	Vango's II	Greek (Limited)
Norway	Corner House	Italian
	Dairy Queen	Ice Cream
	McDonald's	Hamburger
	Rialto Lanes & Restaurant	Family Restaurant
	Tucker's Family Restaurant	Family Restaurant
	Buzzin' B's Subs & Pizza	Pizza
	Main Street Pizza	Pizza
Sault Ste. Marie	Bob's Big Boy	Family Restaurant
	Burger King	Hamburger
	Clyde's Drive-In	Hamburger
	Cup of the Day	Sandwich
	Curly Lu's Lunch Box	Hamburger
	Dairy Queen	Ice Cream
	Domino's Pizza	Pizza
	Dream Catcher's	Family Restaurant
	Frank's Place	Family Restaurant
	Freighter's Restaurant	Fine Dining
	Great Wall Chinese Restaurant	Chinese
	Hungry Howie's Pizza & Subs	Pizza
	Indo-China Garden	Chinese
	Jeff's Fifties Restaurant	Family Restaurant
	KFC	Chicken
	Knife & Fork Restaurant	Family Restaurant
	La Senorita	Mexican
	Little Caesar's Pizza	Pizza
	Lockview Restaurant	Family Restaurant

Mancino's Pizza & Grinder's	Pizza
McDonald's	Hamburger
McDonald's	Hamburger
Mister B's	Family Restaurant
Palace Saloon	Mexican
Penny's Kitchen	Cafe/Diner
Pizza Hut	Pizza
Robin's Nest	Family Restaurant
Studebaker's Restaurant	Family Restaurant
Sub City	Sandwich
Subway	Sandwich
Wendy's	Hamburger
Zorba's	Greek
Abner's Restaurant	Family Restaurant
American Cafe	Cafe/Diner
Ang-Gio's Restaurant	Italian
Antler's	Family Restaurant
Arby's	Sandwich

St. Ignace

Al's Hillside House	Family Restaurant
Bentley's Restaurant	Cafe/Diner
Bob's Big Boy	Family Restaurant
Burger King	Hamburger
Chee Peng Chinese & Thai Restaurant	Chinese
Clyde's Drive-In	Hamburger
Dockside Restaurant	Family Restaurant
Driftwood Sports Bar & Grill	Family Restaurant
Galley	Family Restaurant
McDonald's	Hamburger
Meckine Grill	Cafe/Diner
North Bay Inn	Family Restaurant
Subway	Sandwich
Suzy's Pasties	Pasties
Truck Stop Restaurant	Family Restaurant
Flame Restaurant & Bar	Family Restaurant
Little Bob's New Frontier Restaurant	Family Restaurant
Madd Chadder's Deli	Sandwich
UP North Restaurant	Family Restaurant
BC Pizza	Pizza
Bessie's Original Home Made Pasties	Pasties
State Street Village Inn	Cafe/Diner

APPENDIX B

Transect Restaurants in Study

<u>Restaurant</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Transect</u>
Coachlight Restaurant	Family	M 28
Country Inn Diner	Cafe/Diner	M 28
The Woodlands Restaurant	Family	M 28
Tulppo's	Cafe/Diner	M 28
Brownstone Inn	Fine Dining	M 28
Do Drop Inn	Cafe/Diner	M 28
Sunshine Cafe	Cafe/Diner	M 28
Gramma Grooters	Family	M 28
TJ's Restaurant	Cafe/Diner	M 28
Arctic Inn	Family	M 28
Mom's Restaurant	Cafe/Diner	M 28
Antonio's Family Restaurant	Family	M 28
McDonald's	Hamburger	M 28
Pizza Hut	Pizza	M 28
Pickleman's Pantry	Family	M 28
Pickleman's Sub's	Sandwich	M 28
Triangle Restaurant	Family	M 28
Marilyn's Poor Boy	Family	M 28
The Golden Grill	Cafe/Diner	M 28
On the Go Fast Food	Cafe/Diner	US 41
Wheels	Cafe/Diner	US 41
The Grove	Family	US 41
Tony's Steakhouse	Steakhouse	US 41
Hilltop Restaurant	Family	US 41
Ahmeek Streetcar Station	Sandwich	US 41
Old Country Haus	German	US 41
The Hut Inn	Family	US 41
Slim's Cafe	Cafe/Diner	US 41
Mariner North	Family	US 41
Day Star	Cafe/Diner	US 41
Tamsrack Inn	Cafe/Diner	US 41
Chippewa Restaurant	Family	US 41
Carla's Restaurant	Family	US 41
Lakeside Inn	Family	US 41
Subway	Sandwich	US 41
Mt. Shasta	Family	US 41
Derocha's 41 Steak House	Family	US 41

The Farm House Restaurant	Family	US 41
Bea's Country Cafe	Cafe/Diner	US 41
The Spot	Cafe/Diner	US 41
Sidetracks	Family	US 41
Redwood Junction Restaurant	Cafe/Diner	US 41
The Hub	Cafe/Diner	US 41
Udder Delight	Ice Cream	US 41
Suzy's Pasties	Pasty	US 2
Beaudoin's Cafe	Cafe/Diner	US 2
Country Girl Diner	Cafe/Diner	US 2
Captn Carl's	Cafe/Diner	US 2
Pizza Pronto	Cafe/Diner	US 2
Enga-diner	Cafe/Diner	US 2
The Beary Patch	Cafe/Diner	US 2
Ehn's Corner Cafe	Cafe/Diner	US 2
Poor Boy Restaurant	Cafe/Diner	US 2
Dreamland Restaurant	Cafe/Diner	US 2
Miller's Camp	Cafe/Diner	US 2
Knotty Pine Cafe	Cafe/Diner	US 2
Tylene's	Cafe/Diner	US 2
Jack's Eats	Cafe/Diner	US 2
A&W	Hamburger	US 2
Dairy Flo	Ice Cream	US 2
Pantry Truck Stop	Cafe/Diner	US 2
Singleton's Korner Kitchen	Cafe/Diner	US 2
Gamma's Lakeview Cafe	Cafe/Diner	US 2
LaBelle's	Family	US 2
Kinda Kountry Kafe	Cafe/Diner	US 2
Jerri's Pasties	Pasty	US 2
Dairy Queen	Ice Cream	US 2
Rosie & Dennie's All Season's	Cafe/Diner	US 2
RJ's Country Diner	Cafe/Diner	US 2
Lester's Cabin	Italian	US 2
Dairy Queen	Ice Cream	US 2
Treat's Ice Cream Parlor	Sandwich	US 2
Club 58	Steakhouse	US 2
Charlie's Country Corner Cafe	Cafe/Diner	US 2
The Peppermill Cafe & Pub	Family	US 2
Lehto's Pasties	Pasty	US 2
Dee's Pit Stop	Hamburger	US 2
Wildwood Restaurant	Family	US 2
The Pasty Oven	Pasty	US 2
St. Arnauld's	Cafe/Diner	US 2
Dalla's Restaurant	Cafe/Diner	US 2
Crystal Drive-In	Hamburger	US 2

Fob's Restaurant	Cafe/Diner	US 2
Jeff's Pasty Shop	Pasty	US 2
Westwood Supper Club	Steakhouse	US 2
Paul Bunyan Pasties	Pasties	US 2
Beef-a-Roo	Hamburger	US 2
Mr. T's Restaurant	Family	US 2
Happy Italian's Roma Cafe	Family	US 2
Taco Bell	Mexican	US 2
KFC	Chicken	US 2
Alice's	Italian	US 2
Scott's Subs	Sandwich	US 2
Burgers & Cones Drive-In	Hamburger	US 2
The Pasty Corner	Pasty	US 2
The Eatery	Cafe/Diner	US 2
Cut River Inn	Family	US 2
Bark River Cafe	Cafe/Diner	US 2
Linda's Skyline Restaurant	Cafe/Diner	US 2
Good N Plenty	Cafe/Diner	US 2
Wildwood Pasties	Pasty	US 2

APPENDIX C

Tourist/Recreational Restaurants in Study

Restaurant	Type	Locale
Bayside	Fine Dining	Drummond Island, former retreat
Big Boy	Family	Tahquamenon Falls State Park
Blaney Inn	Fine Dining	Resort area
Carriage House	Fine Dining	Hotel, Mackinac Island
Chamberlin's Ole Forest Inn	Fine Dining	Manistique Lake
Eagle Harbor Inn	Family	Lake Superior
Fischer's Deerfield Inn	Fine Dining	Inland lakes
Fitzgerald's	Family	Lake Superior
Grand Hotel	Fine Dining	Hotel, Mackinac Island
Harbor Haus	German	Lake Superior
Helmer House Inn	Fine Dining	Manistique Lake
Indianhead Resort	Family	Ski resort
Keewenaw Mountain Lodge	Fine Dining	Resort area
Nahma Hotel & Restaurant	Family	Hotel, former company town
Northwood	Family	Drummond Island
Rustic Inn	Family	Manistique Lakes area
Tahquamenon Falls Brewery	Family	Tahquamenon Falls State Park
Thunder Bay Inn	Family	Hotel, former Ford retreat

APPENDIX D

Franchise/Chain Restaurants in Study

Restaurant	Type	Urban	Transect	Tourist	Total
A&W	Hamburger	2	1	--	3
Arby's	Sandwich	1	--	--	1
B C Pizza	Pizza	1	--	--	1
Beef-a-Roo	Hamburger	1	1	--	2
Big Boy	Family	6	--	1	7
Blimpie Subs & Salads	Sandwich	3	--	--	3
Bonanza	Family	1	--	--	1
Burger King	Hamburger	9	--	--	9
Country Kitchen	Family	4	--	--	4
Dairy Queen	Ice Cream	4	2	--	6
Domino's Pizza	Pizza	5	--	--	5
Godfather's Pizza	Pizza	1	--	--	1
Hardee's	Hamburger	7	--	--	7
Hudson's Classic Grill	Family	1	--	--	1
Hungry Howie's Pizza & Subs	Sandwich	2	--	--	2
KFC	Chicken	7	1	--	8
La Senorita	Mexican	1	--	--	1
Little Caesar's Pizza	Pizza	6	--	--	6
McDonald's	Hamburger	15	1	--	16
Pizza Hut	Pizza	9	1	--	10
Ranch Steak & Seafood	Steakhouse	2	--	--	2
Red Lobster	Seafood	1	--	--	1
Steer & Stein	Steakhouse	1	--	--	1
Subway	Sandwich	12	1	--	13
Taco Bell	Mexican	6	1	--	7
Wendy's	Hamburger	4	--	--	4

VITA

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